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Cuba

Castro Opens National Moncada Barracks Ceremony

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[Editorial Report] Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish at 2255 GMT on 26 July begin live coverage of the central national ceremony commemorating the 38th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks.

The ceremony opens with Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela standing together on the platform. The Cuban national anthem is played. Manolo Ortega, master of ceremonies, greets the people of Mantanzas and of Cuba. He notes the presence of honored guest, Nelson Mandela. The crowd applauds. He notes the presence of other honored international guests and diplomats accredited to Havana. He notes the arrival of a brigade of polytechnic students by bicycle who have ridden to Mantanzas from Santiago de Cuba. A representative of the youth brigade presents a banner to Fidel Castro. Fidel then presents several provincial enterprises with awards for over-fulfillment of the annual production quota.

Ortega introduces Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, vice president of the State Council and member of the Communist Party of Cuba Politboro, to present a State Council resolution. He reads the resolution which cites Nelson Mandela as the foremost freedom fighter against the racist regime of apartheid, and expresses Cuban rejoicing over the visit of Nelson Mandela. He notes Mandela's 27 years in prison, and explains that Mandela, from being the accused, has become the accuser in his fight for justice. He points out that Mandela chose to remain in prison rather than accept compromise with injustice. Today Mandela leads the African National Congress [ANC] with wisdom and patience. Therefore, in this decisive hour in Cuba, Cuba takes as a model the heroic attitude of Nelson Mandela as a representative of the highest attributes and characteristics. He points out that Jose Marti suffered imprisonment at 16 years of age. Therefore, the State Council of Cuba awards the Jose Marti Order to Comrade Nelson Mandela and requests that the insignia be awarded by State Council President Fidel Castro at the central ceremony commemorating the Moncada Barracks attack.

Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela step to the front of the stage and Fidel pins the insignia of the Jose Marti Order on Nelson Mandela.

Ortega announces that the first speaker will be Comrade Nelson Mandela. Mandela begins speaking in English. His speech is translated into Spanish. Eventually, Mandela quits speaking and the translator reads the bulk of his speech in Spanish without Mandela saying it in English. Mandela greets Comrade Fidel Castro, the Cuban people, and especially Cuban internationalists "who have done so much to free our continent." He notes the importance of July 26 and the role of Cuban internationalism, especially in Africa.

"The people of Cuba hold a very special place in the hearts of the African people." He notes the "imperialist campaign to destroy the gains of the Cuban Revolution." He expresses admiration for Cuban advances in science, education, literacy, medicine, and culture. He cites the "systematic eradication of racism" in Cuba, and predicts that "the resilient people of Cuba will overcome their difficulties as they have helped other countries overcome theirs."

He expresses great admiration for Jose Marti and Ernesto Che Guevara. "The life of Che is a great inspiration for every person who loves liberty." He says that Africans are used to being victims of foreign countries, but there has never been another case of a foreign country coming to defend Africans. He points out that the Cuban-assisted defeat of the "racist army" in Cuito, Cuanavale, made freedom possible in Angola, in Namibia, and destroyed the myth of white racist invincibility. He says that the ANC has acquired the characteristics of a mass organization. Mandela discusses his hopes for a peaceful transfer of power in South Africa. He points out "the ANC is not a communist party," but goes on to note the respect and cooperation between the ANC and the South African Communist Party. He expresses deep appreciation for the Jose Marti Award. "Long live the Cuban Revolution. Long live Comrade Fidel Castro."

Monolo Ortega introduces the main speaker Commander in Chief Fidel Castro. The crowd chants and applauds.

Delivers Anniversary Speech

PA3007022091 Havana Cubavision Television in Spanish 0057 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Speech by President Fidel Castro at the ceremony marking the 38th anniversary of the Moncada Barracks attack at the Giron Victory Plaza in Matanzas, Cuba—live]

[Text] Dear friend Nelson Mandela, distinguished and honorable personages who are here this afternoon, relatives of those who have fallen in the struggles of the revolution, guests, comrades from Matanzas and the rest of the country:

It is an immense honor for us to have Nelson Mandela here in our country and at our ceremony. [applause] I do not know if those who can not hear are forcing me to shout. I am going to be left without a voice. I do not know if we are aware of the symbolism of this event and, above all, the value of this example during these times—during these shameful times when so many people are hauling down their flags; during these shameful times when so many people are repenting ever having been progressives, not socialists or communists or friends of the communists.

If one wants to see an example of an absolutely honorable man, that man and example is Mandela. [applause] If one wants to see an example of an unyielding, courageous, heroic, calm, intelligent, and capable man, that example and man is Mandela. [applause] I did not reach this conclusion

after having met him, after having the privilege of speaking to him, or after our country has had the great honor of receiving him. I reached that conclusion many years ago. I identify him as one of the most extraordinary symbols of this era. I think this of him and his people because if we are going to talk about the most just of causes, it is the cause for which they have stood. If there is something repugnant and abominable in this world—where there are a few repugnant and abominable things—that repugnant and abominable thing is apartheid.

Who invented it? The communists? The socialists? Socialism? No. It is an invention that expresses the essence of capitalism. It is an invention of colonialism, neocolonialism, and fascism. How is apartheid different from that practice applied for centuries to snatch tens of millions of Africans from the bosom of their land and bring them to this hemisphere to enslave and exploit them to their last drop of sweat and blood. Who knows that better than Matanzas? Here, in this western part of the country, there were perhaps more than 100,000 slaves. During the first half of the last century, the number of slaves reached 300,000 in our country. One of the provinces with the greatest number of slaves was this one, where great rebellions also took place. For that reason, nothing can be more just or more legitimate than that monument we have just built in honor of the rebellious slave. [applause] Apartheid is capitalism and imperialism in its fascist form. It contains the idea of superior and inferior races. However, they have not had to face only apartheid, but also the most brutal inequality and political repression. They have had to face the most brutal economic exploitation. They have had to face these three great tragedies.

That is why I believe that during our era there could be no more just cause than the one led by ANC [African National Congress] Comrade Mandela and many other capable and brilliant cadres of that organization, several of whom we have had the privilege of knowing in our country. Today westerners are trying to gain Africa's favor. They are trying to gain the favor of those who hate apartheid. The big reality is, however, that apartheid was an invention of the capitalist and imperialist West. The big truth is that the West supported apartheid, provided it with technology, made investments in it totalling an untold number of millions, provided it with an untold number of weapons, and gave it political backing. Imperialism did not break with apartheid; it did not stop apartheid. Imperialism kept and is keeping excellent relations with apartheid. It had to block Cuba where the vestiges of apartheid through racial discrimination disappeared long ago. It had to block Cuba, as punishment for its revolution and for its social justice. Yet it never did that to apartheid. It adopted a few lukewarm economic measures of no importance at all.

Now, as Mandela himself has told me, they are wondering and asking him about his friendship with Cuba? Why does he have ties with Cuba? As he has said here: Why does he have ties with the Communist Party of South Africa? As if the ghost of communism were roving the world. [applause] Why does he have ties with this small country that was always so loyal to the cause of the South African people and their struggle against apartheid? This demonstrates the logic of reactionaries and imperialists. It would we be wrong for us to highlight Cuba's modest contribution to the people's cause. However, listening to Mandela's speech, who companeros...[changes thought] It is the greatest and most sincere tribute ever to be offered to our internationalist fighters. [applause]

I believe his words must be like golden letters, written in honor of our fighters. He was very generous. He remembered our people's odyssey in Africa where all the spirit, heroism, and determination of this revolution was demonstrated. We were in Angola for 15 years. Thousands and thousands of Cubans passed through there, and many thousands more passed through other countries. It was a time when the imperialists would give anything to have Cuba pull out of Angola and give up its solidarity with the countries of Africa.

However, our firmness was greater than all the pressure and any benefit—if there can really be a benefit to relinquishing one's principles and betraying others—that our country may have received if it had yielded to the imperialist demands.

We are proud of our behavior. Our troops have returned victorious from Angola. But who has said it like he has? Who has said it in such an honest and intelligible manner? What we have not said because of basic modesty has been expressed by him here, with great generosity, remembering that our combatants made it possible to maintain integrity and attain peace in the brotherly Republic of Angola. Our combatants contributed to the existence of an independent Namibia. He said and added that our combatants contributed to the struggle of the people of South Africa and the ANC. He has said that the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale changed the correlation of forces and opened up new possibilities.

We did not ignore the importance of the effort that we were carrying out there, from 1975 until the last feat, which was to accept the challenge of Cuito Cuanabale. We accepted this challenge in a place located further than the distance between Havana and Moscow. It takes 13 hours to fly to Angola, not including stopovers. It takes 13-14 hours to fly to Luanda from Havana, and Cuito Cuanavale took place in a remote area in Angola. It took place more than 1000 km southeast of Luanda. There, our country had to accept the challenge. As I was telling Comrade Mandela, the revolution risked it all in that action, even its very existence. This child has a good voice. [laughter]

I was saying that the revolution risked its very existence. It dared to engage in a large-scale battle against one of the most powerful and wealthiest countries in the Third World, a country with significant industrial and technological development and armed to the teeth. We faced this country, so distant from our small country, with our

resources and weapons. We even took the risk of weakening our defenses, and we weakened our defenses and used our ships—solely and exclusively our ships—and our means to create that correlation of forces that would make our fighting a success. I do not know if any war was ever waged from such a distance between such a small country and a powerful apparatus like that of the South African racists. We risked everything on that occasion.

That was not the only time. I believe we risked much, much [repeats himself] when we sent our troops in 1975, in the wake of the South African invasion of Angola. I repeat, we stayed there 15 years. Perhaps, such a long period would not have been necessary, to our way of thinking. To our way of thinking, that problem had to be settled and South Africa simply had to be stoppped from repeatedly invading Angola. That was our strategic view. If we want peace and security in Angola, we must bar South Africans from repeatedly invading Angola. If we want to prevent or bar South Africans from carrying out invasions, we must muster the necessary force and means to achieve it. We did not have all the means, but that was our way of thinking. The truly critical situation that was created in Cuito Cuanavale, where there were no Cubans, since the closest Cuban unit was 200 km to the west, the truly critical situation that was created there prompted us to send the men and means that were necessary, on our own volition and at our own risk. We decided to send whatever was necessary, even if it meant taking it from here.

Cuito Cuanavale became a historical landmark, although the operations extended from there along a line running hundreds of kilometers and gave rise to a movement heading toward Angola's southeast; it was a movement of great strategic importance. All of this is symbolized by the name of Cuito Cuanavale, which is where the crisis began.

However, approximately 40,000 Cuban and Angolan soldiers with more than 500 tanks, hundreds of cannons, and approximately 1,000 antiaircraft weapons—the majority of which were ours that we sent from here—advanced toward Namibia.

I am not going to go into detail here about the battles, strategies, and tactics. We will leave that to history. We were determined to resolve the problem by ourselves, [word indistinct] together with the Angolans. We were determined to put an end once and for all to the invasions of Angola.

The situation developed just as we expected. We do not want to offend or humiliate anyone, but when that correlation of forces was created—that new correlation of forces—and we had invincible and unstoppable troops, the necessary conditions were created for the negotiations in which we participated for months.

Great battles could have taken place then, but in view of the new situation, it was better to resolve the problem of respect for Angola's integrity and Namibia's independence at the negotiating table. We knew—how could we not—that those events would greatly influence South Africa's life. That was one of the things that motivated us, one of the great encouragements that impelled our actions. We knew that by resolving the Angolan problem, the forces that struggled against apartheid would also receive the benefit of our struggle. Have we ever said this? No, we never said it and perhaps we never would. However, we think that in the first place, the success of the ANC is due—aside from international solidarity, enormous external support, and internationalism—to the heroism, and the sacrifice of the South African people, led by the ANC. [applause] This man, in these times of cowardice and so many things, has come here to tell us what he has said this afternoon. It is something that will never be forgotten and gives us the human, moral, and revolutionary dimension of Nelson Mandela. [applause]

However, I have not only valued the words that concern us but also the beautiful tribute paid to our internationalist fighters. This demonstrates that the blood spilled, as well as the sacrifices, effort, and sweat of so many Cubans were not in vain. I have valued his wise, intelligent, and precise words, which truly reveal his revolutionary tactics and strategy. He has clearly explained here what his goals are, what he wants, and the means to achieve his goals, as well as his confidence in accomplishing them. We have here a man who spent several years in jail meditating, reflecting, studying, and fighting. He became an extraordinary political leader, an extraordinary and effective fighter, an invincible fighter. We are sure that nothing or no one can prevent the success of that noble and kind struggle, a fair struggle. He sums it up in a fair, democratic, and nonracist society. Believe me comrades, the ANC is facing a very difficult and complex task. Despite having the support of the majority of the South African people, the reactionaries have used many tricks, subterfuges, and maneuvers to prevent the South African people from accomplishing their goals.

Yet, I think that if there is something that is higher than those difficulties, it is the talent of Comrade Nelson Mandela and the ANC leaders. [applause] We are encouraged on this 26 July, and we feel extremely honored by the presence and words of such an illustrious political leader and revolutionary. We will never forget this. [applause]

Comrades, in the midst of so many moving things, which are of major historical significance, I have the obligation to talk of other topics that are not as historic or as significant as this one, but are nonethless greatly important. I am forced to talk a little—you cannot ask too much of me—about this land. As I said before, the work was done by slaves, but the work is now done by us, free men and women of our country. It is now we who cut the sugar cane. We used to carry it, but machines do that now. It would not be surprising at all if we had to carry it again. I am wondering: Do we or do we not carry it? [crowd answers: "Yes!"] It is now we who are picking up blite, (doncarlo), and sedge, not to mention dozens of other species.

It is now we who are tilling the land and harvesting its fruits. We are now creating the wealth. Here you have a free people. That is socialism. It is not the poor or outcasts, it is not the immigrants who later replaced the slaves, and it is not the unemployed who lined up along the edges of the sugar plantations, it is us, all of us, in a greater or lesser degree.

We have even see engineers, doctors, and scientists participating in the mobilizations. Also, every year we see our students—hundreds of thousands of students—participating in the schools in the field, going to school in the field, working in industry, putting bicycles together in the shops, or producing replacement parts. We see all of our youths participating in the physical work that used to be done by slaves, and then by outcasts, the poor, the unwanted, the unemployed or the under employed. This has great historical significance. When one speaks about the achievements of the inhabitants of Matanzas, one speaks of that which they have created and continue to create with their hands.

We must not emphasize the fact that we are imperfect; we know that. We must not underscore that we have many deficiencies; we know that and do not forget it. Let us highlight the efforts of our people. Let us highlight their virtues, their ability to sacrifice, and the products of their efforts. Let us say that during 1990, which was a difficult year when the special period began, the people of Matanzas completed 232 social and economic projects. They were mostly economic projects, both large and small, that begin with the smallest complex at the oil port and end with the freeway they are building between Matanzas and Varadero. They include dams and microdams, irrigation and drainage systems, canals, rice engineering systems, metal forging, light industry factories, food industry installations, hog farming centers, and rationalized grazing. There is an endless list of things that the people of Matanzas have worked on with a special energy. I must include the special effort for the 26 July celebration. There were 232 projects. There are polyclinics, hospital expansions, child care centers, and even older programs that we no longer have, which they have completed. We cannot forget that in Matanzas we have the most important oil wells in the country. Matanzas produces approximately half a million tons of oil.

It is very heavy oil, high in sulphur, but it resolves many problems. There are a few industries operating with that oil. There are cement factories that are functioning with that oil, and there are by-products made from that oil. I asked the director of the enterprise to tell me how much oil had been produced in 1990 and how much this year. He said approximately half a million. I asked him if it was possible to produce more. He said yes, we could have reached 600,000 this year, but there were not enough boats. I asked him about the wells, how they were going, about the land causeways, and how well they were doing. He said that despite the problems, the work is being done, and that some of the oil wells constructed in the land causeways are already being exploited.

Matanzas is the country's main oil-producing province. The province of Matanzas produces more than 40 percent of the country's citrus fruits. Jaguey, yes Jaguey! [applause] It produces more than 40 percent of the country's citrus fruits, and it has increased that production more than 30 or 40 times; it now produces over 10 million quintales. It is one of the largest educational and productive complexes anywhere, with more than 60 schools.

The province of Matanzas today has the country's most important tourist center, Varadero, although it is not the only one. [applause] The province of Matanzas brought into the country 77 million dollars in gross income. I say gross income because some expenses had to be deducted in foreign exchange; 77 million dollars in 1990. The province expects to reach a $100 million gross revenue this year. This will enable you to assess the program's rate of progress. When this program is concluded and we have the thousands of rooms we should have there, the province of Matanzas might reach hundreds of millions [currency not specified] in revenue every year. The Varadero builders, who received their certificates here, completed construction projects worth 50 million pesos in one year, I mean, six months [applause] and plan to complete buildings worth 100 million [currency not specified] overall this year. [applause] An extremely powerful construction force of 7000 workers has emerged there. So you have an idea of the importance of what we are saying. In Matanzas, in Varadero alone, this contingent has completed construction projects worth more than all the Pan-American Games installations, which were completed in 33 months.

[Text] This gives you an idea of the effort. [applause] It gives you an idea of the effort. [repeats himself] Yesterday, we inaugurated the Pan-American Games facilities. Over 20 new installations were inaugurated, and over 40 installations were remodeled at a more or less similar cost. Thousands of professional workers were involved in the task as well as hundreds of thousands of volunteers; this year they are becoming the builders of Varadero.

Matanzas is one of the largest producers of sugar in Cuba. In the last... [corrects himself] In the years of the revolution, it has produced over one million tons of sugar three times. It is working to turn that figure into a regular one. We must say in honor of Matanzas that of the new mills built by the revolution, the latest, the newest, which is called Mario Munoz, has become the best of the new sugar mills built by the revolution. [applause]

I was talking about those things with the companeros when they came here to receive their diplomas. We talked about one enterprise or the other. This mill produced 118,000 tons. None of the other new mills produced that. This mill is evidence of the progress the revolution has made. The revolution is capable of building this kind of mill, where more than 60 percent of the components were manufactured in Cuba. See how high the slaves have climbed!

In Matanzas we have university faculties. The rector is here. Here students study mechanics, economics, etc. A total of 1,300 medical doctors have graduated from the Matanzas school of medicine. Thousands of others have graduated from the school of pedagogy. See how much progress we slaves have made! The institutional education system of Matanzas is complete. There is the Carlos Marx School, whose name we do not plan to change [applause]. There are several schools. In Havana there is a very important one, the Vladimir Ilych Lenin, whose name we do not plan to change either. There is another one in Pinar del Rio, a very significant one, the Federico Engels, whose name we will not change either, of course. We are not planning on changing the name of the Jose Marti School, in Holguin; the Maximo Gomez, in Camaguey; the Antonio Maceo, in Santiago de Cuba; or the Che Guevara—its on the tip of my tongue—in Santa Clara. [applause] A revolution like ours does not change ideas or names. [applause] We slaves have climbed high!

There is a complete educational system. There are many schools of all kinds. I am not going to list them. There is the university, there are child care centers, hospitals, cultural institutes—approximately 200, which corresponds to Cuba's Athens, as it was justly called in another period and as it should continue to be known. If we find a better name we may use it, but Athens is a very symbolic name. [applause] It symbolizes the high cultural level this province reached.

It has sports institutions. There is a long list of medals that the people of Matanzas have won during the revolution. As Guillen would say: Matanzas has what it should have. [applause] Above everything else, we have dignity, independence, courage, and heroism, despite the difficult times we are enduring. We will still have those attributes even if more difficult days lie ahead.

About what are they going to speak to us? About the past? About capitalism? [people shout: "No!"] About private property, large land holdings, corporations, imperialism, neocolonialism? Why should they talk to us about all that garbage? What else could we call that? Are they going to talk to us about the days of beggars, of prostitution, of the systematic looting of the national treasury, of cheap politicking, or of the merciless exploitation of workers and landless peasants who had to pay a certain percentage of what they produced as rent? Are they going to talk to us about racial discrimination, as it happened in some provincial capitals where whites would use one side of a park and the blacks another, the white would use one park promenade and blacks another. I do not remember if it was in Santa Clara, or Villaclara, where there was something like this. I imagine that here, too, there were exclusive places.

This assumes various forms. Can they talk to us about discrimination, prostitution, and all the vices of that society with barefoot and begging children who do not attend school? Will they talk to us about illiteracy or maids engaged in direct or indirect prostitution? [people shout: "No!"] Let them not tell us stories about capitalism, the market economy, and such crazy things, which we are already familiar with and can remember. Can they talk to me about Biran, where I grew up and lived as the son of a landowner and from where I observed the nature of capitalism? Hundreds and hundreds of children only got as far as first, second, or third grade of primary school, if they even attended school. Those who reached sixth grade became smart alecks and were designated as overseers or something like that. I have nothing to say about my father as a man because I have always had before me his generosity as a man. His social standing was not that of a son of a lowly peasant from Galicia but that of a gentleman who owned large areas of land. I became familiar with capitalism by observing it, not by suffering from it. Later, I had plenty of time to ponder the nature of such a society as the flat side of a machete and the rural police, a rural police that the Yankees organized for us here when they disarmed the Mambi Army [Cuban separatists of 1868]. But this time they could not disarm the rebel army, the flat side of the machete was no longer used, and the rural police were gone. [applause]

What can they talk to us about? [applause] What can they convince us of? What can they tell the Matanzas people? What can they tell the Matanzas women? What can they tell the people? [applause] Before the revolution, women comprised only 10 percent of the work force. Now they comprise 40 percent. Not only that. These discriminated-against women—with no future other than what I mentioned, a job as a maid and as an indirect or indirect prostitute, because they were selected for this or that job so they could serve as bait and attraction for buyers—comprise about 60 percent of the Matanzas technical work force. Consequently, women constitute the majority of the intelligent people [applause] in this province. How far we slaves have gone! [applause] Who wants to return to the time of the slaves' barracks? With what will they force us to return? Perhaps with a threat to starve us, an increased blockade, the imperialist arrogance [crowd replies: "No!"] after the disasters in Eastern Europe? With what can they threaten us, the descendants of Maceo, Marti, Gomez, Agramonte, Maximo Gomez, [applause] Che, Camilo, [applause] Abel Santamaria, and Frank Pais? [applause] With what will they threaten us? With hunger, blockades, war? [crowd replies: "No!"]

We will never experience more blockades and suffering than our ancestors because now we possess the land, which belongs to the people. Now we own the manufacturing plants and production means, which belong only to the people. We will manage. Somehow, we will manage. [applause] But we will not return to the slaves' barracks. [applause, chants] If they threaten us with their sophisticated weapons, it is up to them. They do not realize they are dealing with courageous and intelligent people who know how to fight.

If we fought 14,000 km away, and we do not even know if we got ourselves into the enemy-set trap—which worked

against themselves—of Cuito Cuanavale, we will fight on our coasts, fields, mountains, cities, sugar cane fields, rice paddies, and swamps as we did in Cuito Cuanabale. [applause] We will fight even harder than we did in Cuito Cuanabale. [applause] We will resist longer than we did in Angola to the final victory. This is what we can say about the imperialists' sophisticated weapons. We could recommend what they can do with them, but we are in the presence of honorable persons. [applause]

Our army is an army of millions of men and women, ranging in age from adolescents to old people. [applause]

What will they scare us with? With their so-called intelligent weapons? We are more intelligent than those weapons; more intelligent than those who own those weapons. Our weapons should not be underestimated, especially as there is a patriot behind each one of them: a revollutionary. [applause] We cannot just say pants, as someone yelled from back there, because that is chauvinism. There can be pants, shorts, bloomers, or trunks. Anything you want. There will be a patriot behind our weapons. One of those who do not allow themselves to be fooled, confused, or scared. Therefore, in our case, imperialist misters, things are different. In our case, it is a horse of a different color. Therefore, we will never go back to the past. [applause]

There are big ideological battles to be fought. It seems that imperialism has no other enemy in this world, except for tiny Cuba. This green cayman of the Caribbean, as Che Guevara once said. [applause] All their propaganda, resources, and means are no longer aimed at the former socialist field, the USSR, or anyone. They demand conditions to all. It is a shame. They tell the USSR that if they want any economic aid, they have to end all cooperation with Cuba in all fields. Not only that. Recently, the Senate agreed to introduce an ammendment on economic relations with China in which it was told that there would be no preferential country clause—it is a clause used in international trade that the Chinese have and should be renewed—if they had cooperation with Cuba. They are talking to superpowers such as the USSR to take advantage of the current situation to place conditions, conditions. [repeats] See how much hatred, what a vengeful spirit, how much vengeful desire against the revolution, how much political and human misery. Of course, I should also say that the Soviets and the Chinese have said they do not accept any type of contitions [applause] but, the pressure is impressive, it is impressive. They are threatening to not provide any type of cooperation. I really do not know whether they can. We cannot start off from the supposition that the imperialists are swimming in gold. Much less the Yankee imperialists. The capitalists have money, but they do not have enough money to satisfy the demand. Sometimes their positions are humiliating. One cannot understand how they can address the huge countries with the terms they use.

That shows a lack of basic respect for the dignity of governments and peoples. Because some of them are encountering difficulties, they are virtually forced to do aerobics because of Yankee pressure. Such incredible shamelessness. Apparently, Cuba is the only remaining country in the world at which their guns can be aimed. Guns and something else that someone said over there, but which I should not repeat. The word guns rhymes with everything. [laughs] Gentlemen, I certainly did not mean it. But I heard you laughing. And it is true. I realize it. Guns and hearts rhyme perfectly in Spanish. Who will deny it? [applause] Yet all of the guns are aimed at us. This is true. Behold such an honor. Behold what a privilege they have given us: defending the most just ideas in the history of mankind, the ideas of socialism, and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. [applause] No group of apostles came to teach us Marxism-Leninism. We learned it here, ourselves by following the universal trends and the socialist thought, that of great revolutionaries of the past and present centuries. The more we get familiar with imperialism and its miseries, the more socialist and communists we feel. [applause]

We have just returned from a historic mission. This mission was truly historic because a meeting of Latin American leaders was held for the first time. This particular instance included European and Iberian countries. For the first time, we met without Washington callling on us. Up to now, to have the Latin American leaders meet, it was not even necessary to speak.

All the U.S. president had to do was lift one finger. That was it. Everyone moved out to the meeting. This time, Latin Americans, specifically Mexicans, organized the meeting. The Mexicans had the courage to invite Cuba, and it took real courage to invite Cuba. The Mexicans had that courage, which the Yankees did not like in the least. [applause] When they could not stop the trip, they came up with all types of sabotaging actions and plots, as they were expected to. They created problems and difficulties. Apparently, however, all of these attempts backfired. They mounted a big propaganda drive. Nevertheless, the expressions of solidarity with and sympathy for Cuba by Mexico's rank and file, personalities, leaders, and political cadres, and especially the people of Guadalajara, were extraordinary, truly extraordinary. [applause] This shows that people do not forget history and that the imperialist crimes cannot be forgotten. It shows that the enormous propaganda campaign against the Cuban Revolution rubs the wrong way the skin of all those who have at least an instinct for class and who are on the side of the poor people of this world, as Mandela said, recalling Marti. They know those who are with the oppressed and the exploited and against the exploiters, conquerors, colonizers, neocolonizers, and looters. They know. So we felt like a family, as we do here. We had to walk one kilometer. But there were thousands of people there.

I was delayed because journalists and many people stopped me. I could not go with the first line. I had to go with nearly the last one. I was walking alone, like a dove. But I was delighted and happy. The more plots there were prepared, the happier I was. [applause]. I must say

in all fairness, however, that the Mexican authorities organized the event very carefully and took all the necessary measures they could. You all know that certain security measures can be taken only within the framework of what is possible. The rest is pleasure, because when one despises the enemy, one feels a certain amount of pleasure. I do not believe this is a fault. I must thank the enemy for the pleasure that I get when they go crazy, when they think up things, and are foiled.

For this reason, I say that the meeting was historical in nature. I can say moreover that there, in that group of leaders, I saw many capable people, some of them with outstanding capability. The Yankees themselves did everything possible to see if among those people they could find some who would be willing to attack Cuba or argue with Cuba; the fact is that the Yankees had very little success in this. We could say they had no success. Independent of political or ideological differences, and despite the fact that a very few of them are in perfect consonance with the thinking of Washington—not Washington, the founder of the United States, but Washington, the capital of the empire—in general, amiability, cordiality, and respect among all prevailed over and above ideological differences.

I am aware of the times that we are living in. One of the characteristics of that time, of this moment, is the tremendous wave of neoliberalism that exists throughout Latin America and the world. It could be said that it is almost worldwide, but it exists especially in Latin America. Neoliberalism. In other words, capitalism is rejoicing over the political disasters in the East European countries, disasters that have occurred for reasons that are not appropriate to discuss here. We have our ideas about that entire question, ideas that we have held for a long time. Among those who had very clear, very clear [repeats] ideas, the clearest ideas, clearer than the waters of Varadero, was Che Guevara [applause]. He was like a prophet who foresaw the fruits that would come from some of the practices used in the construction of socialism.

Independently of historical factors and of the fact that that kind of society began in the poorest countries of Europe with the aid of a country like the USSR, which had been destroyed twice in less than 25 years, as opposed to an empire which, at the end of the Second World War, accumulated all the gold in the world, which did not lose a single screw in its industry or a single economic resource in the war years.... [sentence as heard] However, I say that serious and profound studies must be made, and this is not the right time to do it. Everyone must be responsible for his own deeds and acts, and the Cuban Revolution is historically responsible for its own deeds and acts. Note well that we said its. Those deeds and acts were ours, not anyone else's.

We have our own ideas and concepts and we have done things our way. For example, we do not have to invent small farms here today because we already have 70,000 small farmers here—70,000 schools to teach about small farming and how to work and coordinate with small farms. We do not have to distribute state enterprises or any such thing, which would be the madness of the century. Mazorra, despite its capacity, would not be large enough to hold the madman who thought of doing such a thing. I say Mazorra, the old name of the pediatric [corrects himself], that is, the psychiatric hospital, the Havana Psychiatric Hospital, the largest in the country, and one of the best and most famous of its kind in the world.

Therefore, we did things our way. No one was forced to join cooperatives or anything like that here, nor was there any of the phenomena that took place in other areas. We had some negative phenomena, because we copied it, which was improper. The worse thing to do is copy. This does not mean that we should underestimate the experience of others in the least. They are different. Moreover, no one gave us orders. No one even dared to try to give us orders. There was not, there is not, and there will not be anyone in the world who can give us orders. [applause]

Well then, with regard to this problem of socialism, which is very new, which has just broken out of its shell... [changes thought] because the bases and the essence of capitalism are thousands of years old. This is the case with private property, for example. However, for thousands of years, not only things were property, but also men, even in the famous Greece. In this regard, the experience of Athens is not very valuable, except as a historical experience. It is justly to be admired for the art that the Greeks were able to develop, but it was a slave society. A few people would gather in a plaza and they called it democracy. The rest of the citizens had no rights and a great majority were slaves. If you read the books and other writings of the Greek philosophers, you will see that some of those documents seem to be wills. They talk much when they leave legacies, when they write documents to indicate to whom they were leaving their properties. They said: I am in good health, but just in case.... In general, that was how wills were worded. They would continue: I leave this slave to this person. Imagine, even the philosophers, who were wise men, had slaves.

That is why we cannot use that kind of democracy as an example. However, capitalism dates from the time of Homer, and even before Homer. It is thousands of years old.

Socialism has existed for only a few decades. It is in diapers. We may say that socialism is in that stage that in children hospitals is called perinatal.

Socialism is in its perinatal phase, which includes the first six or seven days after the birth of a child, the most precarious days, when special care must be provided. We have built rooms for intensive perinatal care, as part of our children's health program.

It is logical that socialism, the most just of all ideas, has had to go through hardship and danger. In some countries it has disappeared. There are some cases. From the [former] GDR we have received horrible news. There is apartheid in the GDR! Perhaps the ANC will have to

give political advice to blacks, to Asians, to mestizos, to all the people who one way or another have ended up in the GDR.

Now they are being chased on the streets! There have been cases of Vietnamese, Mozambicans, and Angolans being lynched. Who knows if a Cuban who may have decided to stay there may be risking the same fate. They are being chased by fascist groups, demonstrating xenophobia, racial hatred, and fascism. This is what has replaced the society that existed before: The rebirth of the most sickening feelings of racial hatred, arrogance, and fascist racial superiority.

We are receiving this kind of news, and there is more. They have begun to get a taste of a love kiss from the devil. The love kiss of capitalism, despite the fact that they still do not have full-fledged capitalism. They are only marching toward capitalism and we are already seeing this kind of situation.

Some people have forgotten that China is a socialist country that invariably upholds the principles of socialism, and it has a population of 1.1 billion people, as if this were nothing. It is a country where hunger and calamities that for thousands of years whipped that nation have ended. It is now going through a series of calamities—major floods and rain unseen in the past 100 years. There is a socialist state, there is the party, there is the government, and no one will be left without support. What has happened there is painful. We know of there major efforts to build channels and ponds and how this calamity can harm their agriculture. Yet no one will starve there. I am sure of this. No one will die from disease.

The Soviet Union is suffering very serious problems. It is impossible to predict how events will evolve. We hope they evolve in the most positive way.

This entire situation has led imperialism to feel strongly triumphant. It has created skepticism among many progressive forces and many leftist forces throughout the world. There are people who would rather die than remember that they were once militants of a communist party, people who are afraid of having been militants of a communist party, who are afraid of the huge honor of having been militants of a communist party. Regardless of errors, it is a great honor to be a militant of a communist party. There is a difference between being a militant of the party of the poor and being a militant of the parties and the clubs of millionaires and looters.

Communists can be accused of anything but of engaging in the exploitation of man by man or of having supported the exploitation of man by man.

The situation has created confusion and a wave of neo-liberalism. Other factors contribute to this. There is the foreign debt, the demands of the IMF, the World Bank, the international financial organizations that say: If you do not do this, we will not give you one cent. These institutions force governments to do what they say.

Some people believe in neo-liberalism. Others just have no alternative but to believe because if they do not, they are not granted one penny.

There is a wave of privatization.

Privatization is the current trend—private enterprises, and market economies; a new, strange, rare form of labeling things that no one understands. We are not sure if those who mention and repeat those terms really understand what they are saying. Anyway, market economy, private initiative, private property, private enterprise are all the same thing—capitalism. It is as simple as that.

The ideas of socialism are completely discarded today as something prehistoric, when the truth is that capitalism, colonialism, and neocolonialism are really prehistoric. What is new, really new, is socialism.

Some have told me: We want change. However, we have made more changes than anyone else for 30 years. We have made changes over the course of 30 years that have not been made in 3,000 years. Therefore, I have told them that they do not really want change, but to change what has been changed, and that there will be no change [recambio]. [applause] That is a reality.

A majority of Latin American leaders think in terms of capitalism, neo-capitalism, and neo-liberalism. This is true of many of them; some more, some less, but that is the situation. There is a new language. There are moments when there is talk—much talk—about social justice and the redistribution of wealth.

At a given moment I asked for permission to speak and I said that when I heard someone mention and repeat those terms, I had hallucinations, because at times I thought that I was attending a meeting of leaders of radical leftist political parties. I added that perhaps it was because of the paintings of Orozco that were on the ceiling of the hall where the meeting was taking place. Those were very revolutionary paintings based on the fantasies of a great painter, as Orozco was. I told them that it made me happy to hear them talk about social justice and the redistribution of wealth, because it could mean that there is more awareness on those topics. Those were my words, more or less.

Evidently, all political leaders are talking about the redistribution of wealth and social justice. Those topics are always mentioned. I asked myself: Where did injustice come from? Where did inequality, poverty, underdevelopment, and all the different calamities come from, if not from capitalism? Where did colonialism come from, if not from capitalism, neocolonialism, and imperialism? It would seem that the creators of heaven and earth are to be blamed for poverty, that the social system has nothing to do with it, and that capitalism has nothing to do with it. It is incredible, but it is a language, an idea, and a doctrine.

Trying to solve those problems through capitalism in a world divided between immensely rich capitalist countries and a great majority of immensely poor countries—precisely as a result of capitalism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism—believing that neo-liberal formulas will promote a miracle for our countries' development, is an incredible illusion. It is like trying to put out a fire with gasoline.

We have statistics. There are Latin American countries in which 5 percent of the population receives up to 50 percent of the income, while 30 to 40 percent receives only 10 percent. This an incredible inequality. Injustice and poverty in Latin American countries is a direct consequence of capitalism. However, theories and more theories are coming out stating that private initiative generates wealth, and that capitalism is necessary for social justice; private enterprise, market economy, and the pure capitalist system, as pure as during the last century. At the same time, the authors of those theories are trying to hide the consequences of all that with the phrase redistribution of wealth. There may be a little redistribution of wealth in Europe, and in countries that have sacked the world, which have dozens of millions of unemployed, but that still have something to give them, for a while.

In these Third World countries, however, there are countries in which the difference between the income of one segment of the population and the income of another segment of the population is 40 to 1. Capitalism does not have the capability, the morals, or the ethics to resolve the problems of the poor.

How many poor people live in Latin America? According to a congress that was held some months ago—a congress on poverty held in Quito—in Latin America there are 270 million poor people. Of that figure, there are 84 million destitute people. That is the situation in Latin America as a whole. When I speak of Latin America, I am talking of it as a whole.

There are big differences between one country and another. There are countries in Latin America that have extraordinary incomes. They are very rich. Others are much poorer. The situation is more bearable for the countries with high incomes than those with very little. Those with high export incomes depend less on the international financial organizations. They can handle the situation better. Social problems, however, reach everywhere.

There are no less than 20 billion [as heard] homeless children in Latin America. Others say the figure is 30 million homeless children in all of Latin America, children who live on the streets. There are millions of school age children who work more than eight hours [per day]. The number of children in all of Latin America that graduate from primary school is 44 for every 100 students who enroll as a whole.

What does (Biran) remind me of? Things happen as they happen—a public school, a teacher, no funds, there was nothing. Parents took their sons to work the fields or some such thing. They did not have clothing, shoes, or food to attend school. That is, according to the figures I have read, 56 [percent] do not reach the sixth grade. You can estimate how many of them reach basic high school. Despite this, millions reach high school. Subsequently they overfill the universities and then they find no jobs. A small percentage of the children in primary school reach high school. Despite this, there are millions attending the university. It is an explosive force—all those university intellectuals who do not find jobs later on.

The infant mortality rate in Latin America is about 60 during the first year for every 1,000 children born alive. The mortality rate for those under five years old, which of course includes those under one year old, lies between 70 and 80 for every 1,000 children born alive. There are countries with lower figures, much lower figures, but there are others with much higher figures.

As much as 30-40 percent of the active labor force is unemployed or underemployed in Latin America. Malnutrition adversely affects between 80-100 million people. Life expectancy does not reach 70 years of age as an average. It is much lower than in developed countries. They do not even dream of special schools for the entire population. A family doctor program might seem like a story brought by a traveler from a distant star. They do not even dream of reaching the levels we have reached on teachers per capita and doctors per capita. Sometimes we have doctors doing other jobs that have nothing to do with their profession, such as manual jobs.

Matanzas itself is an example, there were over 200 doctors here, 236 I believe. It now has 1,900 doctors. There were 116 nurses—Matanzas now has 4,000 nurses and auxiliary nurses. To that figure, you can add the thousands of technicians that did not exist before in the health sector.

All of these problems are present. All the Latin American capitals are surrounded by neighborhoods with destitute people. Many times, the number of capital city residents who live in poor neighborhoods and slums is greater than those who live in normal homes, those who live under normal conditions. All the capitals are surrounded by slums, without exception. Whose fault is this? Is capitalism removed from this problem? Is colonialism and neo- colonialism removed from this problem? Is yankee imperialism removed from this problem? How are they now going to come here with their recipe of more capitalism to develop the countries.

We have been a country that has virtually depended on the sugar cane industry. We do not have great resources for which the world pays any amount of money. We do not have seas of oil under our soil for which we could be paid billions. Our country has almost as many inhabitants per square kilometer as the PRC. We are close to 100 inhabitants per square kilometer. In our country we have to sweat to earn by working very hard.

We are now entering other fields. We are now entering the fields of science and biotechnology, and many other

things. We are entering a field in which we are developing our fabulous natural resources, such as the beauty of our country, the beaches of our country, which take the place of oil. We have to exploit that. We have other fields in which, with the support of science and technology, we are greatly developing ourselves.

We will have to conquer with intelligence and determination our place in this world and our economic independence. We have no other choice. These are difficult circumstances. A disaster has taken place in East Europe. The USSR is going through enormous difficulties. Imperialism is more triumphalistic than ever. Neoconservatism has become popular. The imperialists have established a strict and increasingly strict blockade against us. We have to make way for ourselves under these circumstances. It is our most sacred and basic duty if we want to have a fatherland, if we not only want to preserve the achievements of our revolution but also the sovereignty and independence of this country which cost so much to achieve.

We are a country with little resources and, nevertheless, none of the phenomena I mentioned exists in Cuba. The infant mortality rate was 10.7 per each 1,000 in Cuba last year. We are in a better position than many developed countries. The infant mortality rate of children under five years was 14. These are impressive figures. Our life expectancy average is around 76 years and continues to increase. Almost 100 percent of the children who begin primary school finish it. Over 90 percent of the children of age attend secondary school. Illiteracy disappeared a long time ago. The education level of some provinces such as Matanzas is 10th grade. This is the workers' education level. As a rule, we do not know what a slum is. There are very isolated cases despite the efforts made. There is no malnutrition. Malnourished children are only seen here in hospitals because of diseases or because of lack of attention by the children's family.

It cannot be said that there is no work for he who wants to work in this country, even during the special period. Many things always need to be done even when we are short of raw materials in factories. Even during the special period, over 20,000 university graduates get a job; engineers, economists, agricultural engineers, everything. In the area of engineering and economy alone, there are about 8,000 graduates. We already know where all of them are going to work. Our factories may not need them now but we do not send them to the streets. We place them next to another engineer so that they continue to learn and acquire experience so that a reserve of technicians and technical cadres is formed. Our society, which is solidary and humane, does not send anyone to the streets, does not leave a single graduate without a job. It distributes what it has.

This is socialism. This is social justice. It distributes what it has. [applause] If it had a lot it could distribute a lot and if it has a little it can distribute a little. It distributes what it has. It does not leave anyone unprotected. There is not a single mother in this country that is left helpless either because she is a single mother or had a child or two. Some have had up to some seven children, which shows a terrible lack of responsibility. Nevertheless, the state does not let the seven children go hungry and it also gives them their share through Social Security. All workers are protected by Social Security also. The entire population has the right to free health services even if it a matter of a heart transplant. The entire population has access to education centers. This is what socialism is about.

Of course, since we have declared ourselves enemies of the big monopolies, we have declared ourselves enemies of the empire, they do not want to forgive us for that. How can they forgive this from a small country, which throughout history they planned to take possession as a rotten fruit, or as an apple that falls from the tree on its own, as a ripe apple? How are they going to forgive us for having carried out a social revolution? They will do everything possible to wipe out this revolutionary process, this example, from history.

They will not resign themselves. There are two sides that do not resign themselves. They do not resign themselves to the revolution and we will never resign ourselves to return to the past. We will never resign ourselves to be again a neocolony and a Yankee possession. Never. [applause] Let us see which of the two is more persevering and which of the two is stronger.

Latin America has this dilemma. The problem of Latin America and the Caribbean is not an easy one. There are 446 million inhabitants and in 25 years there will be 800 million—the same population as India today. They all have the problems I spoke about. There are men, prominent political leaders in the governments—whom were among the personalities I met with—who understand these problems. Latin America has no other choice than to get together, unite. This is what the founders of these republics always dreamed about. It was Bolivar's basic dream, and almost 100 years later it was also Marti's dream. It was a logical thing. This is why at the summit I said something harsh but I said it. I was thinking of the history of this hemisphere since the struggles for independence. I said: We could have been everything and we are nothing. I was referring to the comparison between what Latin America is today, divided, Balkanized, and a very powerful EEC and more and more protectionist. Latin America compared to a power such as Japan which is very powerful economically and more and more protectionist. And Latin America compared to the United States, the third big economic block. They are rich and developed countries which are owners of all the gold and currency of the world and manage the international credit institutions.

Vis-a-vis the new situation created at the international level, the number one concern of the United States is its competition with Europe and Japan and its partners. It wants to ensure its backyard which is Latin America. It launches the so-called Initiative for the Americas. This initiative clashes with the vital and essential integration of Latin America because it is based on a number of

bilateral agreements with countries to develop neocolonial forms of trade basically characterized by unequal trade. They are looking for cheap raw material and labor to build their capital. The development of such policies clashes with trade among Latin American countries and the economic integration of Latin America. Trade among Latin American countries is insignificant. In (?1980) it represented 12 percent of its exports and now it represents 13 percent. In turn, trade among the economic superpowers and among the big economic blocks is growing. This initiative threatens the integration of Latin America. It threatens it by integrating it to the U.S. economy which of the three blocks it is the worse one off. Nobody should imagine that the United States is lying on a bed of roses from the economic standpoint. It has turned into a country that is incapable of competing. It cannot compete with Europe or Japan.

Germany—one of the powers defeated in World War II—is the most powerful one in Europe. Japan—another one among the defeated—is very powerful. As I told a reporter from the U.S. television who interviewed me—he said the interview was going to focus on sports and he talked a little about sports and the rest about politics—he was telling me that the USSR had been ruined in the arms race with the United States. I told him: This did not happen to the USSR alone. The USSR could have been the first one ruined but you are the second ones because you are also ruined. I told him: Do not claim victory. [applause]

Now, what is happening in the United States? Forgive me for extending myself a little more so that this idea is clear. The United States was the center of capitalism, the wealthiest of the countries, the most competitive. After World War II, it had complete hegemony. It has lost this position. Many vanguard industries such as automobile, chemical, and electronic industries, have lost the place they had. Steel production has dropped. Other competitors have taken their place.

In the United States at the end of the war and in the years following the war, the income rate of the invested capital was up to 24 percent. The income rate in capitalism is very important because it is the money they have to invest further and continue development. Before the fifties, the income rate was 24 percent and now it is around 8 percent, a third of what it used to be.

As economists say, the savings rate is another very important matter in capitalism. How much money do people save? They put it in banks, the banks lend it, and the money is invested. Historically, the United States characterized itself for a high rate of savings because of certain peculiarities. As a leader to whom I talked was telling me, there are countries in Europe in which people save 30 cents out of each peso [currency as heard]. In the United States, people save five cents out of each peso, [corrects himself] out of each dollar. This is a terrible index in a capitalist country such as the United States. The U.S.' debt amounts to $10 trillion. Look, it is not $100 billion or $500 million or $1 trillion. It is $10 trillion between the public and private debt.

The public debt is approximately $3 trillion and the rest is the debt of individual enterprises. That is, it is a country that owes twice as much as the gross domestic product [GDP]. They produce $5 trillion and owe $10 trillion. This is also a very negative index for that country. And the debt continues to grow. People had gotten used to living off annuities, interests, and shares. That country spends much more than what it produces. Suffice it to note that now, for example, with the recession they have had since mid-1990, it was reported that the U.S. budget deficit will be $350 billion, $350,000 [repeats] in the fiscal year that begins in October. It is a huge figure even for a big economy, such as that of the United States.

They do precisely what they ban others from doing. They say they should have no budget deficit, that there should not be a trade deficit. They have a trade deficit amounting to some $100 billion.

But the U.S. budget deficit is a high percentage of their GDP. The IMF and the World Bank do not allow any Latin American country to have this, to have a fiscal deficit equivalent to 7 or 8 percent of their GDP. These organizations—the IMF and the World Bank—demand that it be at most 2 percent, 1 and a half percent, 1 percent, or zero percent. Ten years ago the United States had investments abroad that exceeded by $140 billion the investments other countries had in the United States. In only 10 years they have gone from a surplus of $140 billion to a deficit of more than $600 billion. That is, the investments made there by foreigners from capitalist countries considerably exceed the investments by the United States in other countries.

All these are absolutely new phenomena. That is why I asked where they were going to get the money from, if they really wanted to help others, if they really wanted to help the USSR. In meetings with Harvard economists, some Soviet economists have made some calculations that what is needed in the USSR is tens of billions of dollars. Where is that money? Today everyone is asking for money. The East European countries need large amounts of money. The USSR, according to what some of its economists say, needs very large amounts of money. The Middle East needs enormous amounts of money.

Latin America owes $430 billion. It has paid a net amount of money in the last eight years equal to $224 billion. However much neoconservatism and capitalism they may invent, where will the money come from for their development, under these conditions? If instead of receiving money they have less and less of a share of world trade, receive fewer and fewer loans, pay enormous amounts of money to other countries, much more than they receive? So, according to the experts, world demand for money exceeds the supply of money by more than $200 billion.

There is not enough money for all these demands, from Latin America, the Middle East, the East European

countries, the USSR. But the worst thing of all is that the one that needs the most money is the United States. Because where are they going to get the money to cover that fiscal deficit of $250 billion, the $350 billion they will have next year? Where are they going to get the money to underwrite their $100-billion trade deficit? So the United States has become an octopus, a gigantic vacuum cleaner sucking up money. They themselves need more money than anyone else.

So if Latin America integrates its economy with that of the United States, it will be integrating into the economy of a bankrupt country. Latin America will get the worst of the deal. Everything Latin America exports to the United States is mostly fuel and raw materials. Fuel and raw materials are 60 percent of what Latin America exports, and less than 30 percent is manufactured products. This is imperialism's ideal, to get cheap raw materials and fuel and to sell at high prices, very high prices, their manufactured products. Latin America needs to participate in world trade with manufactured products.

This is the kind of problem and challenge the Latin American countries face. They are under a lot of strain. You will forgive me for having gone on at length about this, but I wanted to convey to you some ideas about the reality of what is going on in the world. You will have heard the famous Uruguay Round mentioned many times. It is not progressing. It is a series of formulas that have been worked out to try to promote world trade. Day by day there is more protectionism in Europe, and more protectionism in Japan, and in the United States. The protectionist measures are not tariffs. There are many other forms of protectionism. Sometimes they establish impossible requirements a product a Third World country wants to export must meet to be approved. Sometimes they set quotas that cannot be exceeded.

In addition to all those calamities, the Latin American economies are threatened by these phenomena in the three major economic blocs and their tendency to create closed shops in the economic field. So the future of the nations of our hemisphere looks very harsh. But to us it seemed an important, historic first step that they succeeded in meeting together on their own account. We should not kid ourselves. We should not raise false hopes. This is a lengthy and difficult process.

But the world is not in a very flourishing situation in the economic field. The U.S. economy suffers from all these calamities I mentioned and a few more. Capitalism cannot cry victory. Imperialism cannot cry victory. The United States is more powerful than ever militarily. Politically, they have great influence. But economically they are weaker than ever, and they have very serious problems.

The world will now see how these phenomena of competition between the great economic blocs and these immense demands for capital in the face of a limited supply works out. The world will see how Latin America emerges from its tragedy. This is the reality we must be able to analyze coldly, calmly, objectively, in the intimate conviction of the justness of our cause, our ideas, and our plans to confront such serious problems as the ones we have ahead of us.

Curiously, as evidence that we are not dogmatic, today an unusual event has occurred. We have given one certificate, of the 15 we gave out, to a work center, the Sol Palmeras Hotel, [applause] which we own in partnership with a Spanish company. Well, we do not have enough capital to develop tourism at the pace we want to. We are investing quite a bit on our side, because we have hundreds of kilometers of beaches in extraordinary places. We can accept partnerships of this kind, with common sense. We have told the Latin Americans that we are even willing to give them certain advantages, preferential advantages, in the service of integration, in any economic investments they may want to make in Cuba.

This also implies that we would have the right to make investments in Latin American countries, if we have a given technology, for example, and there are obstacles or barriers. One of the ways of opening up a market can be by making an investment. In integrating with Latin America, we have to adapt our mechanisms to those investment opportunities without renouncing our socialism. Because we can perfectly well imagine economic integration with Latin America with renouncing socialism, even though they are capitalist countries, some more so and some less so, even though some are privatizing even the streets. Others are keeping their major industries under state ownership. They are keeping oil, for example, exclusively under state ownership. Likewise, there are other fields, or investments, or certain areas.

As we told a reporter, to integrate with Latin America, no country has to renounce its state ownership. We are willing to seek reasonable, mutually agreeable arrangements with the Latin Americans. But there is one very important issue: We know what we are doing. We know what our strengths and weaknesses are, in what areas we are making a lot of progress. It would not make sense for us to build a sugar mill—which we can build perfectly well by ourselves—in partnership with anyone, or have our sugar enterprises become joint enterprises with foreigners. We should do what we know how to do and what we have the capital to do. We can accept foreign capital in areas where we do not have the technology, capital, or markets, in partnership with us, in a greater or lesser degree of partnership.

Of course we would give favored status to the Latin Americans in this, as a necessary phase or a necessary step in the economic integration process. We believe we are the most prepared for economic integration. That is what we said there. We waved that flag a lot. We said that if one day we had to give up our flag to form a single common nation, we would give up our flag. If one day the world attains such an extraordinary and excellent level of awareness that it is able to form one big family, we would also be willing to give up our flag. We will never do so in the service of a unipolar

world under the hegemony of Yankee imperialism. We will never do that. We will never renounce a single one of our prerogatives. [applause]

We are internationalists. We are not narrow nationalists or jingoists. We were capable of spilling our blood in other places in the world, in Latin America and Africa, generously. As Mandela recalled, for each one who went, 10 had volunteered to carry out an internationalist mission. Can it be said that there is any nation more noble, more in solidarity, more revolutionary? The Angolans' blood was our blood, and the Namibians' blood and the South Africans' blood is our blood. Humanity's blood is our blood. [applause]

Our ideas go beyond jingoism or narrow nationalism. Our ideas go beyond all borders. We live in the world it has been our destiny to live in, and we fight for a better world. But our minds, our intelligence, our hearts, are prepared for a much better world, a much more superior world, a world like the one Marx and Engels wanted, in which Man was the brother of Man and not a wolf. Capitalism is the greatest creator of wolves that has existed in the history of humanity. Imperialism has not only been the greatest creator of wolves but the greatest wolf that has existed in the history of humanity.

We, who came from behind, who were conquered, we who were exploited and enslaved over the course of history, what wonderful ideas can we defend today! What very just ideas can be our ideas! We can think in Latin American terms, and even in international terms. How far we slaves have come! [applause] But now, now [repeats] internationalism consists of defending and preserving the Cuban Revolution. This is our greatest internationalist duty. [applause] Because when there is a flag like this one, that represents ideas as just as this one does, defending this trench and bastion of socialism is the greatest service we could ever do for humanity.

These are difficult times, but we will be able to grow and multiply. The 100,000 students who are participating during these days in work in the countryside are proof of our people's spirit. They are working in the fields and in other tasks. This shows what our people and our youth are like. [applause] We have to multiply, each and every one of us. Each worker at his job, each cadre, each party and government official, have to give everything they can of themselves. They have to multiply. They have to be more demanding of themselves and others than ever.

They must rise to this historic moment, because it is very worthwhile to do so. Because the cause we defend merits this! Because the nation whose children we are merits this! Because the ideas we uphold merit this! Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

Mandela Addresses Event

FL2907125191 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 2322 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Speech by African National Congress President Nelson Mandela at the national ceremony commemorating the Moncada Barracks attack, in Matanzas, Cuba—live, in English with passage-by-passage translation into Spanish; italicized portions indicate written text that Mandela did not actually read but that were read in Spanish]

[Text] Friend, Secretary of the Communist Party, President of the Council of State, and of the government of Cuba, President of the socialist Republic of Cuba, Commander in Chief, Comrade Fidel Castro; [applause] Cuban Internationalists, who have done so much to free our continent; Cuban people, comrades, and friends:

It is a great pleasure and honor to be present here today, especially on such an important day in the revolutionary history of the Cuban people. Today Cuba commemorates the 38th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada. Without Moncada, the Granma expedition, the struggle in the Sierra Maestra, and the extraordinary victory of 1 January 1959 would never have occurred. Today this is revolutionary Cuba, internationalist Cuba, the country that has done so much for the peoples of Africa. We have long wanted to visit your country and express the many feelings that we have about the Cuban revolution, the role of Cuba in Africa, southern Africa and the world. The Cuban people hold a special place in the heart of the people of Africa. The Cuban internationalists have made a contribution to African Independence, freedom and justice, unparalleled for its principles and selfless character.

From its earliest days, the Cuban Revolution has also been a source of inspiration to all freedom-loving people. We admire the sacrifices of the Cuban people in maintaining their independence and sovereignty in the face of the vicious imperialist-orquestrated campaign to destroy the impressive gain made in the Cuban Revolution. We too want to control our own destiny. We are determined that the people of South Africa will make their future, and that they will continue to exercise their full democratic rights after liberation from apartheid. We do not want the popular participation to sit at the moment when apartheid goes. We want to have the moment of liberation open the way to ever-deepening democracy.

We admire the achievements of the Cuban Revolution in the sphere of social welfare. We note that the transformation from a country of imposed backwardness to universal literacy [as heard]. We acknowledge your advances in the fields of health, education and science.

There are many things we learn from your experience. In particular, we are moved by your affirmations of the historical connections with the continent and people of Africa. Your consistent commitment to the systematic eradication of racism is unparalleled. But the most important lesson that you have for us is that no matter what the odds, no matter under what difficulties you have, you had to struggle. There can be no surrender. It is a case of freedom or death.

I know that your country is experiencing many difficulties now but we have confidence that the resilient people of Cuba will overcome these as they have helped other countries overcome theirs.

We recognize that today's revolutionary spirit began long ago and that this spirit has been nurtured with the efforts of those who fought for the freedom of Cuba and, in fact, the freedom of all who were suffering under imperialist domination. We also find inspiration in the life and example of Jose Marti who is not only a Cuban and Latin American hero, but an admired symbol for all those who fight for freedom. We also honor the great Che Guevara [applause] whose outstanding revolutionary efforts, even on our continent, were of such magnitude that no prison nor censorship could conceal him from us. His life is an inspiration for all those who love freedom. We will always honor his memory.

We are humbled and full of emotion to be here. We have come here today recognizing our great debt to the Cuban people. What other country has such a history of selfless behavior as Cuba has shown for the people of Africa? How many countries benefit from Cuban health care professionals and educators? How many of these volunteers are now in Africa? What country has ever needed help from Cuba and has not received it? How many countries threatened by imperialism or fighting for their freedom have been able to count on the support of Cuba?

I was still in prison when I first heard of the massive help which the Cuban international forces were giving to the people of Angola. The help was of such a scale that it was difficult for us to believe it, when the Angolans were under attack by the combined forces of South Africa, the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] who were financed by the CIA, mercenaries, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], and Zaire in 1975.

In Africa we are used to being victims of countries that want to take from us our territory or overthrow our sovereignty. In African history there is not another instance where another people has stood up for one of ours. We also acknowledge that the action was carried out by the masses in Cuba and that those who fought and died in Angola are only a small portion of those who volunteered to go. To the Cuban people internationalism is not only a word but something which they have put into practice for the benefit of large sectors of mankind. We know that the Cuban forces were ready to retreat after driving back the invasion in 1975 but the continued aggressions of Pretoria did not allow them to do so. Your presence there and the reinforcements sent for the battle of Cuito Cuanavale has a historical meaning. The decisive defeat of the racist army in Cuito Cuanavale was a victory for all Africa. This victory in Cuito Cuanavale is what made it possible for Angola to enjoy peace and establish its own sovereignty. The defeat of the racist army made it possible for the people of Namibia to achieve their independence.

The decisive defeat of the aggressive apartheid forces destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the white oppressor. The defeat of the apartheid army served as an inspiration to the struggling people of South Africa. Without the defeat of Cuito Cuanavale our organizations would not have been legalized. The defeat of the racist army in Cuito Cuanavale made it possible for me to be here with you today. Cuito Cuanavale marks the divide in the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. Cuito Cuanavale marks an important step in the struggle to free the continent and our country of the scourge of apartheid.

Apartheid is not something that started yesterday. The origins of the racist white domination go back three and a half centuries from the moment that the first white colonizers began the process of division and eventual defeat of the Khoi-Khoi, the San, and other African peoples, the original inhabitants of our country. This process of conquest, from its beginning, engendered a series of resistance wars which are the origin of our national liberation struggle. Fighting under great disadvantages, the African peoples tried to defend their lands, but the material base and the firepower of the colonial aggressors led the divided kingdoms and tribal chiefs to defeat. This tradition of resistance is still alive and serves as an inspiration to our current struggle. We honor the figure of the great prophet and warrior (Machana) who died while trying to escape from the prison on Robin Island in 1819. (Insa), (Secumpune), Dingaan, Moshesh, (Mambata), are other resistance heroes from the anticolonial struggle.

It was with this history of taking lands that the South African Union was created in 1910. From the outside, South Africa looked like an independent country. But, in reality, the British conquerers gave power to the whites who had located in the country. Thus, the new South African Union could formalize the racial oppression and the economic exploitation of the blacks. After creating the union, the adoption of the Law on Territories, which legalized the land seizures of the 19th century, accelerated the process that would lead to the creation of the African National Congress [ANC] 8 June 1912.

I am not going to relate to you the history of the ANC other than to say that the 80 years of our existence have witnessed the evolution of the ANC from its beginnings, when it attempted to unite the African peoples, until it became the principle force in the struggle of the oppressed masses to end racism and establish a nonracial, nonsexist, democratic state. Its membership has evolved from a small group of professionals and leaders to a true mass, popular organization. Its objectives have evolved from the search for improved conditions for the African peoples to the fundamental transformation of all of South Africa into a democratic state. The methods used to obtain the main goals have acquired over the years a greater mass character, which is reflected in the growing popular participation in the ANC and in the campaigns carried out by the ANC. At times, some say that the initial objectives of the ANC and its original composition were those a reform organization. The truth is that, since its birth, the ANC has had profound revolutionary implications. The formation of the ANC was the first step in the creation of a new South African nation. With time, this concept developed until it found, 36 years ago, clear expression in the Freedom Charter where its says that South Africa belongs to

all who live there, blacks as well as whites. This constituted both an unequivocable rejection to the racist state and the affirmation of the only alternative that is acceptable: that racism and its structures be, finally, abolished.

It is well known that the response of the state to our legitimate democratic demands was, among others, to accuse our directors of treason and subject our people during the 1970's to indiscriminate massacres. These facts, and the banning of our organization, left us no other road than the one followed by any self-respecting people, including Cuba, that is, to rise up in an armed struggle to retake our country from the hands of the racists.

I should mention that when we wanted to take up arms, we approached numerous Western governments in search of help and we could only talk with the lowest level officials. When we visited Cuba we were received by the highest authorities who immediately offered anything we wanted and needed.

That was our first experience with Cuban internationalism. Even though we took up arms, it was not our preferred option. It was the apartheid regime that forced us to take up arms. Our preferred option has always been to find a peaceful solution to the apartheid conflict. The combined struggle of our people in the country, as well as the growing international battle against apartheid during the 1980's made possible a negotiated solution to that conflict. The decisive defeat in Cuito Cuanavale changed the status of forces in the region and reduced considerably the capacity of the Pretoria regime to destabilize its neighbors. This fact, along with the struggle of our people within the country proved to be crucial so Pretoria would understand that it had to go to the negotiating table. [applause]

It was the ANC that initiated the current peace process that we hope will lead to a negotiated transfer of power to the people. We have not initiated this process for goals any different from that when we pursued the armed struggle. Our goals remain the achievement of the demands of the people and we will settle for nothing less than that. No process of negotiations can succeed until the apartheid regime realizes that there will not be peace unless there is freedom and that we are not going to negotiate away our just demands. They must understand that we will resist any constitutional scheme that aims at continuing white privileges. There is reason to believe that we have not yet succeeded in bringing this home to the government and we warn them that if they do not listen we will have to use our power to convince them. That power is the power of the people. And ultimately we know that the masses will not only demand, but win full rights in a nonracist, nonsexist, democratic South Africa. But we are not merely seeking a particular goal. We also propose a particular route for realizing it, and that is a route that involves the people all the way through. We do not want a process where a deal is struck over the heads of the people and their job is merely to applaud.

The government resists this at all costs, because the question of how a constitution is made, how negotiations take place, is vitally connected to whether or not a democratic result ensues. The present government wants to remain in office during the entire process of transition. Our view is that this is unacceptable. This government has definite negotiation goals. It can not be allowed to use this power as a government to advance its own cause, and that of their allies, and to use those same powers to weaken the ANC. And this is exactly what they are doing. They have unbanned the ANC, but we operate under conditions subtantially different from that of other organizations. We do not have the same freedom to organize as does Inkatha and other organizations allied to the apartheid regime. Our members are harassed and even killed. We are often barred from holding meetings and marches.

We believe that the transition process should be controlled by a capable government that has the will to create and maintain the conditions necessary for free political activity. A government that works with the goal of assuring that the process be an effort to create a true democracy and nothing less. The current government has not shown the willingness and has been incapable of creating a proper climate for negotiations. It is hedging on its agreement to free political prisoners and to permit the return of exiles. Recently, it permitted the creation of a situation in which a true reign of terror and violence was unleashed against the African communities and the ANC as an organization. In this scenario of violence, 10,000 people have been killed since 1984, 2,000 of those in this year alone. We always said that this government, which glories in its professional police forces, is perfectly capable of putting an end to the violence and judge those responsible. But, they do not only not demonstrate the willingness to do that, but now we also have irrefutable evidence, and this has been published in the independent press, of their complicity in the violence. Violence has been used a systematic effort to strengthen Inkatha as a potential ally of the National Party. Now, we have evidence that proves the payment of monies by the government to Inkatha. Money that comes from its contributors.

All of this proves the necessity of creating an interim government of national unity that can preside over the transition. We need a government that enjoys the widest popular confidence so it can govern during this delicate period to assure that they do not permit the counterrevolutionaries to change the process and that can guarantee that the constitution is written in a climate that is free of repression, intimidation, and fear. We believe that the constitution itself ought to be written in the most democratic form possible. In our opinion, the best way to achieve this is through the election of representatives to a constituent assembly with the mandate to write a proposed constitution.

There are organizations that reject the claim of the ANC to be the most representative group in the country. If this is certain, let them show their popular support at the ballot box. To assure that the popular masses are included in this process, we are distributing and discussing our own constitutional proposals and a proposed law of rights. We want these to be discussed by all the organizations in our

allinace, that is, the ANC, the South African Communist Party [SACP], and the Congress of South African Labor Unions, as well as by the people in general. In this way, when the people vote for the ANC to represent them in a constituent assembly they will know not only what general principles the ANC defends, but they will also know what type of constitution we want. Naturally, these constitutional proposals are subject to revision upon the basis of consultations with our members, with the rest of our alliance, and with the people generally. We want to achieve the writing of a constitution that receives wide support, loyalty, and respect. This can only be achieved if we truly go to the popular masses.

In an effort to stop these just demands, various efforts have been made to undermine and to destabilize the ANC. Violence is the worst of the efforts. But there are other, more insidious methods.

Currently, both in the press and among our political adversaries, and many Western governments, there exists an obsession concerning our alliance with the South African Communist Party [SACP]. The press constantly publishes speculations over the number of communists that are in our National Executive and says that we are directed by the SACP. The ANC is not a communist party, but rather a broad liberation movement which has among its members communists and non-communists. Whoever wants to be a loyal member of the ANC, whoever accepts the discipline and the principles of the organization, has the right to join its ranks. Our relation with the SACP, as an organization, is based upon mutual respect. We are united with the SACP in those objectives that we have in common. But we respect each other's independence and individual identity. There has been no attempt whatsoever on the part of the SACP to run the ANC. To the contrary, we have gained strength through the alliance. We do not have the slightest intention of paying attention to those who suggest and counsel us to break away from this alliance. Who are those who offer these unsolicited suggestions? They come, mainly, from those who have never given us any assistance whatsoever. None of these counselors have ever made the sacrifices that the communists have made for our struggle. [applause]

This alliance has strengthened us and we will make it even more firm. We are now in a phase of our struggle in which we can smell the victory. But we have to assure that this victory is not stolen from us. We have to assure that the racist regime feels the greatest pressure down to the end so that it understands that it has to cede power; that the road to peace, liberty and democracy is inevitable. This is the reason why sanctions should be maintained. This is not the moment to hand out awards to the apartheid regime. Why should they be rewarded for repealing laws that are recognized as international crimes? Apartheid still exists. The regime must be obliged to eliminate it. Only when this process is irreversible can we begin to evaluate the removal of pressures.

We are profoundly concerned by the attitude that the Bush administration has adopted on this matter. This was one of the few governments that was in close contact with us on the question of sanctions. We made them see clearly that the elimination of sanctions would be premature. Despite that fact, this administration, without even contacting us, simply informed us that the U.S. sanctions were going to be lifted. We consider this as totally unacceptable.

It is in this context that we value our friendship with Cuba very, very much. When you, Comrade Fidel, yesterday said that our cause is your cause, I know that that sentiment came from the bottom of your heart and that that is the feeling of all of the people of revolutionary Cuba. [applause]

You are with us because both of our organizations, the Communist Party of Cuba and the ANC, are fighting for the oppressed masses to insure that those who make the wealth enjoy its fruits. Your great apostle, Jose Marti, said, and I quote: "With the poor people of this earth, I want to share my fate." [sustained applause]

We in the ANC will always stand with the poor and rightless. Not only do we stand with them, we will ensure sooner rather than later that they rule the land of their birth. That, in the words of the Freedom Charter, the people shall govern. And when that moment arrives it will have been made possible not only by our own efforts, but through the solidarity, support, and encouragement of the great Cuban people. [applause]

I must close my remarks by referring to an event of which you all have witnessed. You have witnessed the event in which our Comrade Fidel Castro conferred upon me the highest honor this country can award. I am very much humbled by this award. Because I do not think I deserve it. It is an award that ought to be given to those who have already won the freedom of their people. But, it is a source of strength and hope that that award is given for the recognition that the people of South Africa stand on their feet and they are fighting for their freedom. [applause] We sincerely hope that in the days that lie ahead we will be proved worthy of the confidence which is expressed in this award. [applause]

Long live the Cuban Revolution! [Viva!] Long live Comrade Fidel Castro! [Viva!] [sustained applause]

Castro Speaks at Pan-American Village Ceremony

FL2907132691 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 2232 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Speech by President Fidel Castro at the dedication ceremony at the Pan-American Games Village in Havana—live]

[Text] Dear Comrade Nelson Mandela and other members of the African National Congress [ANC] delegation, outstanding workers, athletes, guests:

I am going to be very brief. A few days ago we gave the banner to our team. Today we are meeting here in this simple ceremony for a really very important event. This

is the symbolic dedication—and I say symbolic because the facilities are spread out in many places—of the construction projects for the Pan-American Games. As [Jose Ramon] Fernandez has explained here, there are 21 new facilities and 46 facilities that have been remodelled. In this case, good luck—because nobody planned it this way—has brought about a visit in these days by this extraordinary person, this prestigious fighter, known throughout the world, Nelson Mandela. [applause]

He is making a quick tour of Latin American and the Caribbean and has coincided with this date and also with the 26 July anniversary. That is why it has been a great honor for us and a great pleasure to have the opportunity of having him here. I must mention that Mandela likes sports. In his youth he played sports. Later he had to work in activities of great importance for his country and his fellow citizens. As a result of his struggle against apartheid, he had to suffer many years in prison. He was imprisoned more than once, but the last time was for more than 25 years, 27 years, in the harsh prisons of South Africa.

Although he could not play sports there, he did exercise every day. You only need the will to do exercises, and the awareness of the need to do exercises. Here we can see the results, which are a wonderful example to us, in his physique. In his case you cannot talk about obesity or a sedentary lifestyle. He has an athletic figure and above all, no one can guess his age. You cannot tell how old he is by looking at him. This is especially true when you take into account the tireless activities he carries out every day, at all hours, his health, the enormous contribution he personally makes in a decisive stage of his historic struggle for justice in his country, his historic struggle for equality, his historic struggle against racism, his historic struggle against apartheid, his historic struggle for a government of his people.

I think that we who are always preaching the need for sports and physical exercise have in Mandela a wonderful example to imitate. Of course, we are not going to forget about Manolo [not further identified], who has just raised the flag here in spite of the fact that Manolo does not look so athletic. [laughter] So his presence gives a special meaning to our dedication ceremony. I think our deepest appreciation, from all of us who are present here, from our people, should be expressed to those who built these projects here in the eastern part of Havana, or the western part, or in Plaza Municipality, or Lenin Park, or in many other places in the capital or Havana Province or Santiago de Cuba. If something can be stressed because of its special meaning, it is the fact that these projects have been built with immense patriotism, immense revolutionary spirit, and immense love.

Many facilities have been dedicated to sporting events, but I think that none has had such a spontaneous and enthusiastic participation by the people, such enthusiastic and massive participation. The mere fact that more than 300,000 Havana residents have participated in building these facilities says it all. A few thousand professional workers and hundreds of thousands of volunteer workers participated. I do not think this has any precedent in the history of sports, or of the Pan-American Games, or even of the famous Olympic Games. These facilities have been built with the people's sweat, the people's will, the people's care. So I think they have more than enough reasons to feel proud, and more than enough right to enjoy for an indefinite time this product of their work.

As extraordinary as that is, many of them have never built anything. We are not forgetting, of course, that we have become a nation of construction workers, a nation of workers, where students from secondary schools participate in one way or another in classes and work, so no one is afraid when they have to go to work in agriculture, or when they have to push a wheelbarrow, or when they have to lay bricks. We are not forgetting this, that we have become a nation of construction workers. However, it would not be possible to explain in this way the quality of these facilities. They have been able not only to build a great dealt, but to build well, with extraordinarily high quality.

Without any reservation I can say that I have never seen a more beautiful community than this Pan-American Village. [applause] It could be called Olympic Villa. It is truly beautiful. I have never seen a more beautiful neighborhood, even in places where the wealthiest families live, where such attention has been given to aesthetics. You cannot help but be amazed even when you spend a long time looking at it.

Those who created, planned, and built it deserve special congratulations. [applause] This shows what architecture can do, even the famous prefabricated components, when things are done intelligently and with a creative spirit. This is why we say that there will be two periods in the history of our architecture; before and after the Pan-American Games. [applause] There will be many towns and communities in Havana Province that will copy a large part of the style of these structures. We will not be able to build exactly the same communities inasmuch as all the styles and all types of prefabricated components are represented here but we will build communities almost as pretty as this one for our agricultural laborers. The same can be said about the facilities. In my opinion, the velodrome is a marvel. The stadium is extraordinarily beautiful. The swimming facilities are impressive. The same can be said about the others. I have not seen the Plaza multiple-use arena since it has been completed, but from the outside it also looks like a great architectural work. In Habana Vieja, where we are preserving the values of the architecture of another century, we have built a mulitple-use arena inside the facade of an old building without changing the style of the area one bit.

It is said that the facility for rowing events is also marvelous. Sadly, we have given up the dam that was going to be used for agriculture. It is a small dam. They promised us that it was only going to be used for the Pan-American Games. It turned out so good, so pretty,

and so valuable, so exceptionally appropriate for that type of activity, that I forgot about the dam. [applause] It can be said that the matter was discussed, was discussed [repeats] at the highest level. The irrigation installations had not been built yet. Here we appreciate each drop of water, each dam, each reservoir. It is not a reservoir of 1 billion [measure not specified] like the Zaza Dam or like the Gabama Dam. No, it is a small dam of some 10 or 12 million cubic meters. What is the capacity? [unidentified speaker's answer indistinct] I am not so far off. I later discussed with the water management engineers how not to lose that water. If we use the irrigation systems, it will be empty part of the year. That dam is maintained like that; it is always full. If it is emptied, the boats cannot sail. It could only be used in the spring. I told them to think that in spite of everything we are not losing this water. Think if a little further down we could build a small dam and we can build two or three small dams a little further up so that we can use the water that is left over at the end of the spring, when everything is full. During the dry season we can use the water from the smaller dams and leave the water in the flooded dam.

I am telling you all this to give you an idea of how each one of these things was a subject of analysis and concern. I do not believe that there was bad faith on the part of Manolo, or Fernandez, or the INDER [National Institute for Sports, Physical Education, and Recreation] comrades. No, no. I am absolutely convinced of their good faith. But they could not imagine how well all this was going to turn out, and if they did imagine it they did not tell anyone. After it was built, it needs to be used for rowing forever. There is no alternative.

So, what is said about this village can be said about all the installations. I am not afraid to state that if we ever were given the chance we could organize even the Olympic Games. Nobody should be afraid. There are some that get scared. A lot of time will possibly go by before they give us the chance to host the Olympic Games. You know how the Olympics business is; it is for the powerful, extremely powerful. Nowadays, an Olympic Games in the Third World is almost unimaginable.

But I say that these facilities are Olympic quality, the velodrome, the pools. The stadium can even be expanded, and the areas we have here are for us to build more if we want. Part of these facilities will go to serve tourism. Most of the village will pass into the hands of those who worked to build it. Not all of them, because tens of thousands of people worked on this village, but most of the buildings and apartments will pass into the hands of those who worked regularly to build them. So about 1,000 families—I do not remember the exact number—will live in these palaces we have built as the Pan-American Village.

But we intend to continue to develop this area. Not far from here we have excellent beaches. As I said the day I gave the banner to the Pan-American Games team, in a short time we will recoup all the hard currency we have invested in our Pan-American Games facilities. Some money will be collected during the events, although this was not the aim; far from it. There was no economic aim, but naturally we have had to finish these construction projects during the special period, and we do not have the right to forget the economic aspect.

I said these were the most economical projects that had ever been built. The vast majority of the work was done by voluntary workers and with Cuban materials. The hard currency was used for materials we could not produce here, or for some equipment. Fernandez explained that they had granted us the village in 1986. [corrects himself] Not the village, the event, 1986, November 1986. Everything was going very well at that time. Then there were serious problems on the international front that had a very direct impact on our economy. As he explained, the projects were underway; the buildings were under construction. Most of the spending had already been done on what was necessary to build all this.

But we are not a nation that trembles. We are not men to tremble or become discouraged in the face of difficulties. It could be perfectly understood ....[rephrases] Some did not succeed in understanding this, but we understood perfectly well about our sense of honor and our international obligations. So when things became seriously complicated, or began to become complicated, in 1990, when the difficulties began, for the reasons we all know—it is not necessary to repeat them here—there was no doubt, there was no hesitation about pushing forward with the construction projects. This was not only the right thing, the healthiest thing, but we were not going to waste what we had invested. We were not going to leave this area turned into ruins or unfinished projects. No. We had to continue to move forward. We continued to move forward, and here we are, in the presence of what is really a marvel of human labor and intelligence.

I think our capital city has been enriched. It has been beautified. I think everyone who passes through the eastern side of the city for years and decades to come will have the opportunity of appreciating these marvels, and the new ones we will continue to build. I think the present and future generations will always be happy about the courageous decision to continue the construction when the special period started, and to finish it. Now, how much strength have we gained, because we have done this ourselves!

We have been building dozens of factories and economic facilities along with this. We have built more than 60 agricultural camps along with this. We have built tens of thousands of hectares of plot drainage and irrigation, and the engineering system for rice, and hundreds of kilometers of irrigation canals along with this. In the year that just ended, we made the largest investments in water management projects along with this. So our country did not work only on the Pan-American Games projects. They have been a very small part of our efforts. When one day there were 4,000 or 5,000 people working here

regularly, there were almost 17,000 voluntary workers in the agricultural camps in Havana Province. Havana residents in those camps, Havana residents here, and the largest gatherings were on Sundays. When there were 10,000 here, there were 25,000 there.

So the people have worked, and they have worked on many fronts, many fields. We know very well what each of those who worked here know how to do, and what they should do now, where the professional forces should go, where the minibrigades should go, where the minibrigade contingents should go, where the Blas Roca Contingent should go, and all that enormous group of forces that participated in this feat. We should also not forget the extraordinary cooperation that prevailed between all the organizations. There was not a single institution that something here depended on that did not provide all its support. That is why this miracle has been possible, something that seemed like it would never be finished, and that we are dedicating today, 25 July.

We can only hope for rain. Not as much as fell while we were in the middle of building, but enough to make the grass grow. We have seven days left, more or less, until the games open. If the grass grows here the way it grows in the banana plantations, we can be sure we will have enough grass and green areas, even in the last ones that were planted. I said that the grass grows a lot in the banana plantations, but I mean that it used to grow, because they no longer let it grow. That is the result of the work by those mobilized from Havana and Havana Province, the weed-free state of our fields, and the way the different crops are growing. Their harvest will mostly be seen next year.

I said I was going to be very brief, but it seems I became involved and was inspired by these things. But in any case, I will be brief by my standards. [applause] I do not know what you are clapping for. It may be because I said I will be brief. I see how much you appreciate my speech. The only thing left for me to say is that our team is already staying at the village. It was natural for us, the hosts, to be the first. That is why the Cuban flag is already flying. I think the other teams are beginning to arrive now, and soon all these flagpoles will be filled by the countries that will come for the competition. I think it is an advantage for the athletes.

It has already been said and repeated that the number one medal must be for hospitality, but we should not renounce the others. I hope there will be many of them, and of high quality. I am sure our country will experience days of healthy enjoyment. It will experience days of happiness and festivities with these Pan-American Games. We are very sorry that Comrade Mandela will not be able to enjoy these games, but we will send him all the necessary news. We will send him a summary of how these Pan-American Games have been held, for which we have had the privilege of having his presence at the dedication of the facilities.

He is very interested in sports. One of the first things he asked me—because he has been here twice, I went to meet him twice, once during the refueling stop and the other time for the official visit—one of the first things he asked me was about [former boxer Teofilo] Stevenson, how Stevenson was, and if Stevenson was still boxing. I said that I think if someone provokes him he is capable of boxing and knocking out anyone, but he is no longer actively in the sport. I said that we would surely run into him somewhere, and Mandela would have the chance to meet him, because he told me he wanted to meet Stevenson. I see him here right now. So, Stevenson, come up here quickly, show that you are still agile, and shake hands. [applause]

Well, since this is a sports event, and with sports you should not talk about politics, but since the games have not yet started ....[changes thought] This is not the same as the opening ceremony. You know how the opening speech is. It is a straight line, of this and that and whatever, and nothing more. [laughter] That will really be a short speech. It will be shorter than the one I gave in Mexico. But since we are still all Cubans here, and in the presence of such an illustrious fighter, it is fitting to repeat once more: Socialism or death, fatherland or death, venceremos! [applause]

USSR, U.S. To Discuss Cuban Issue at Summit

FL2907141991 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1355 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] The Soviet Union has reiterated its commitment to continue to economically help Cuba in spite of U.S. pressures to have them suspended. During a news conference held in Moscow, Vitaliy Ignatenko, spokesman for the Soviet Presidency, said the subject of Cuba will be discussed between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush during the summit that will begin tomorrow.

The TASS news agency cites Ignatenko as saying that an exchange of views on the Cuban issue will surely take place during the meeting. The Soviet Presidency spokesman stressed that the USSR has certain agreements with the Cuban friends and that they will be honored.

ANPP Attends Latin American Parliament Meeting

FL2907220591 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1933 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] A National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP], delegation, headed by ANPP Vice President Zoila Benitez, has departed for Colombia to attend the 13th regular meeting of the Latin American parliament. During the meeting a new directorate will be elected and important social, economic, and political problems of Latin America will be discussed.

This organization, which convenes every two years, gathers all Latin American parliaments. Cuba was inducted into this organization in 1985 despite U.S. pressures to block Cuba's

admission. Cuba joined this organization thanks to the solidarity of all other member countries. Nowadays, the Cuban National Assembly holds one the vice presidencies of the Latin American parliament.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Botswana

FL2907180491 Havana Cuba Vision Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Cuba will increase its cooperation with Botswana, under the provisions of an agreement signed between the two countries in Gaborone. Official sources have reported that the document was signed last weekend in the capital of Botswana, and added that the number of Cuban doctors who will serve there will total 27. The sources add that other aid by Cuban experts in the fields of education and agriculture from 1992 to 1993 in also included, as is a future trade agreement. The agreement was signed by Botswana Foreign Minister [Gaositwe] K.T. Chiepe and Noemi Benitez, the vice president of the Cuban State Committee for Economic Cooperation.

Haiti

Sailors Disobey Coup Orders, Mutiny Occurs

Shots Heard in Port-au-Prince

FL2907171591 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] We will give you an idea of the situation in the streets of Port-au-Prince this morning. The main topic of conversation is the mutiny in the Haitian Navy. We hear that a problem arose between the Naval authorities and the sailors. Intermittent gunshots have been heard. It seems that there are injuries, but when we went to the site, we were not able to see anything. We did not succeed in interviewing any soldiers, or the authorities, who refused to talk to us. What remains certain is that there were gunshots in the Haitian Navy and that the sailors were asking for government intervention.

There was nothing special over the weekend. All planned activities took place as usual. Some watched the soccer matches at the Sylvio Cator Stadium; others visited Parc Sainte-Therese in Petionville. No problems were reported.

People were circulating normally in the streets here in Port-au- Prince as late as last evening, 28 July. But this morning, there are burning tires at certain crossroads, and due to the problem in the Haitian Navy in Carrefour, the Carrefour Road is virtually blocked to accommodate only pedestrian traffic. According to our latest report, there is not yet any movement of vehicular traffic there.

Two Sailors Wounded

FL2907182691 Santo Domingo Cadena de Noticias in Spanish 1751 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Last night, two members of the Haitian Navy were wounded when shots were exchanged after they disobeyed an order from their superiors to join a coup attempt against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. According to reports high-level Navy officers, composed of over 300 members, ordered their subordinates to begin a coup against Aristide but their subordinates refused. As a result of their refusal, two unidentified Navy members were wounded and taken to the military hospital. A military person, who asked not to be identified, said all the higher level Navy officers were arrested and taken to the Armed Forces headquarters where they are under investigation.

Unrest Linked to Macoute Officers

FL2907215691 Port-au-Prince Radio Galaxie in Creole 1100 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Excerpt] [Reporter] [passage omitted] We note that there are many people going up and down the streets. Everyone is talking about Roger Lafontant and the trial to take place today. Many people are very afraid.... [changes thought] We can say there is an obsessive fear intensely reigning because everyone is wondering whether the trial will take place or not. Even at this time, there are people who do not believe that the trial will take place. When we were traveling down here, when we arrived near the Haitian Navy building, we could say.... [changes thought] We will not say it was a blackout [as heard] but I can say there was a blockade where cars....

[Announcer, interrupting] In front of the Haitian Navy building?

[Reporter] I can say there was a gathering in front of the Haitian Navy building.

[Announcer] A gathering of people or....?

[Reporter, interrupting] Yes, a gathering of people who came to find out exactly what happened during the night of 28-29 July. There were many people who came and everyone was giving his opinion. There were many interminable discussions. In brief, you know everyone is giving his opinion about events on 28 July. We were compelled to go down there to obtain information. According to the information we obtained, there were not two camps within the Haitian Navy as several rumors said. One camp was for Roger Lafontant and one for Father Aristide. There was nothing like that at all. We met with several military men who provided explanations.

[Announcer] This morning, I had an interview with [passage indistinct] who told us that they were chasing away Macoute officers. Did they give you the same information?

[Reporter] Yes, I have the same information. They are chasing away Macoute officers because.... [changes thought] They did not talk only about this. They said there is an absence of human relations within the corps. They said for example when they go to the hospital, when their children or wives are sick, and when they are sick, these superior officers do not take their cases into

consideration. It is for all these reasons that they were waiting for a day like today so they could act, so they could raise their voice.

[Announcer] Anyway, we will listen to an interview with a sailor.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] What explanations can you provide to the Radio Galaxie listeners concerning the events that occurred within the Haitian Navy last night?

[Unidentified sailor] I learned that Radio Galaxie reported that the events that occurred last night within the Haitian Navy were related to a confrontation between recruits. It is not true at all. It is not a confrontation between recruits because we, the recruits, do not fight like cats and dogs. We live like brothers. It is the officers who always want to be at our throats. There is a number of officers that we could not tolerate. Let us take the cases of Haitian Navy Commander Seide Ambroise; Lieutenant Colonel Charles Andre; Captain Serge Bazile, a company commander who used to mistreat us; Captain Jean-Martide Monfort, Lieutenant Lamour Phalange, Lieutenant Thebaud Alexandre, and Navy Warrant Officer Jesufort Francois. We could not tolerate these officers and we were obliged to take the decision to overthrow these people, to get rid of them. [passage omitted] [end recording]

'Lawyer Trainees' To Defend Lafontant

FL2907180991 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1230 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Excerpt] The judicial authorities are ready for Lafontant's trial on 29 July. The accused—as authors, coauthors, and accomplices—in the 7 January bid for power number 22. Five lawyer trainees proposed by the Bar will provide the defense for the coupists. The doyen of the Civil Court in Port-au-Prince advises the public that these lawyers were not chosen by Lafontant, but offered their services to justice at the request of the president of the Bar, because without the presence of lawyers no trial could be held.

The 22 who will be in the defendants' seats are: Roger Lafontant, Gerard E. Louis, Serge Auguste, Gilbert Moise, Derice Innocent, Pierre Benedicte, Jean-Eric Sylla, Andrice Louis, Marius Jean-Paul, Desius Francois, Alfonse Lahens, Alix Charlemers, Paul Auguste, Mirabeau Petit-Homme, Mentor Odilon, Plaisir Saintulme, Vilfranc Fransio, Paul Belizaire, Joseph Evans Pierre, and Frantz Miradi Charles. These accused will be present this morning in the law courts for the Roger Lafontant trial.

President Aristide gave his opinion of the trial a few days ago. [passage omitted]

Barricades Erected for Trial

FL2907173691 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1200 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Report from the street by unidentified reporter—live]

[Text] As we speak, there are several groups of young people setting up barricades of used tires in the area of St. John Bosco Church where no cars can get through because of the tire barricades.

There is another series of tires on Lasaline Boulevard, on the corner near the Texaco station and the bus depot, preventing anyone from crossing the boulevard. There are few cars and numerous pedestrians. Public transport is scarce and commercial activities are nonexistent this morning, the day of Lafontant's trial.

Many people have gathered around the National Penitentiary since last night.

El Salvador

Commentary Critical of Arena, Cristiani, Army

PA2707024691 (Clandestine) Radio Farabundo Marti in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Arena [Nationalist Republican Alliance] military regime will face a much less favorable balance of forces at the next peace talks. Alfredo Cristiani returned from Guadalajara no different than when he left. What is worse for his sponsors, he returned empty-handed to face the most decisive moment for the peace process. This is the time to negotiate the dismantling of the excessive power of the military.

Cristiani and the United States managed to get the support on paper of the 10th Central American Presidents' Summit, the resolutions of which have no political value within the international scenario.

Meanwhile, a bucket of cold water cooled the warmongering heat of the High Command when the UN and the group of countries who support Javier Perez de Cuellar complained publicly about the delay in implementation of the human rights agreements and constitutional amendments, which have been hampered by an official party suffering a leadership crisis. La Tandona graduating class [referring to the 1966 graduating class of the Captain General Gerardo Barrios Military Academy] and the most steadfast sectors of Arena, incapable of facing the progress of the negotiations politically and openly, have preferred to increase their clandestine operations and their dirty war against the opposition.

They viciously attacked Martin Ayala Martinez and his wife, they hurled fragmentation grenades against the democratic opposition, and faced with the inevitable appointment of the Military Tribunal of Truth and Purification, they have begun to fight among themselves with kidnappings.

All this indicates that as the talks begin to progress, these Stone Age groups try to mutilate civilian society even more. All this indicates that the Army leadership is in no condition to live in a society where civilian rights prevail. If there are any innocent officers, there is still time for them to throw the first stone.

ONUSAL [United Nations Observers for El Salvador], the human rights verification mission, will come. Although it will not put an end to the systematic repression, it will put a muzzle on the institutionalized beast. We salute the upcoming installation of the ONUSAL members who will become a shield to protect the defenseless while contributing toward strengthening negotiations that are being hampered by the La Tandona graduating class.

Roundup of Rebel Clashes Reported 16-23 Jul

PA3007043191

[Editorial Report] (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 16 July broadcasts one minute of battle reports between National Army for Democracy [END] rebels and government troops. The first report states: "On 12 July, END troops, in a successful raid using explosives, inflicted five casualties to cavalry troops at El Amatillo, 1 km from Santa Tecla City, La Libertad Department." The announcer continues: "In that same area, on 13 July, END units inflicted four more casualties on Army troops patrolling the road to La Libertad Port." The station announcer adds: "On 14 July, END troops fought Military Detachment No. 1 troops at Las Calles, Chalatenango City, and inflicted seven casualties."

(Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 17 July airs a three-point FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] communique from its Anastasio Aquino Paracentral Front that explains the circumstances surrounding the capture on 16 July and subsequent delivery to the International Red Cross of soldier Felipe Valladares, 19, "in compliance with the Geneva treaties dealing with prisoners of war and the human rights accords signed in Costa Rica."

(Clandestine) Radio Farabundo Marti in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 19 July broadcasts nine minutes of battle reports between END units and government troops. The announcer begins by stating: "At 1400 on 18 July, heavy clashes began between END units and Usulutan Battalion troops belonging to the 6th Infantry Brigade at El Nisperal and Tres Postes Cantones, Santa Elena Jurisdiction, Usulutan Department." The announcer goes on stating that the clashes continue and "up to this moment the enemy has suffered considerable losses and has abandoned four bodies." The announcer says "our comrades report they have taken two Usulutan Battalion prisoners of war."

The station continues airing battle reports and shifts to San Miguel Department with the announcer stating: "At 0930 on 18 July, END troops attacked Arce Battalion Special Forces in San Andres Hamlet, San Luis de la Reina Jurisdiction, San Miguel Department. Two hours of fighting left the enemy with two soldiers dead and six wounded." The announcer tells of another clash that left two more wounded at Los Quebrachos Canton. The station adds "we regret the heroic loss in combat of comrade Ines Perez Garcia, alias Reinaldo, an END sergeant."

The station continues: "At 1130 on 18 July a Corps of Engineers soldier stepped on a mine at Alcanfor Hill in Tecoluca Jurisdiction, San Vicente Department, and was wounded." The announcer continues the report with urban commando activities in San Salvador by stating that: "At 1300 on 13 July urban commandos attacked 1st Infantry Brigade advance positions in the Julio Mejia neighborhood near the San Carlos garrison. This attack caused five casualties and one Browning 9-mm pistol was recovered." The

station continues: "At 1900 on 13 July National Police positions were attacked with grenades at the crossing of Constitucion and San Pablo Abad Streets, inflicting two casualties on the National Police."

The station continues with a report from the Modesto Ramirez Front in the Guazapa Hill area that "on 0930 at 16 July, END troops attacked Belloso Battalion soldiers in El Salitre, San Jose Guayabal Jurisdiction, Cusclatan Department. This left the Belloso Battalion with one soldier dead and two wounded." The report continues with a report on three more casualties inflicted to the "elite Belloso Battalion at 1100 on 17 July at Los Lirios Canton, Guayabal Jurisdiction, Cusclatan Department."

The station announcer then lists the number of casualties by each department: "Chalatenango 175, Cuscatlan 32, Cabanas 16, San Miguel 45, La Union 2, Morazan 38, Usulutan 106, San Vicente 65, La Libertad 26, and in San Salvador—the enemy's rear guard—67 casualties. A total of 576 casualties in 11 days of national maneuvers."

Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish at 2018 GMT on 22 July reports the FMLN's reprisal—according to a 1st Infantry Brigade spokesman—over the destruction of a rebel camp. NOTIMEX quotes an Army spokesman who reports the FMLN's takeover of a Guazapa church and school "from where they attacked the Army and inflicted three casualties and damaged some houses." The NOTIMEX report adds that "first aid organizations confirmed the death of two civilians..." The report ends by stating "the Army admits that National Guard troops were killed during an FMLN attack on a military base in San Nicolas Lempa, Usulutan Department."

(Clandestine) Radio Farabundo Marti in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 21 July broadcasts a summary of END activities in 10 departments between 8-20 July. The announcer states: "END inflicted 635 casualties, including six officers, 13 soldiers, and nine government soldiers taken as prisoners of war." The announcer continues "during this same period the END recovered 43 rifles, five M-60 machine guns, two M-79 rocket launchers, four PRC-77 radios, one Motorola radio, five M-72 LAW rocket launchers, 14 machine gun ammunition belts, 56 knapsacks, and 39 kits." The announcer continues "during the same period END engineering units sabotaged 22 pylons and posts all over El Salvador as well as an electrical substation in Soyapango and partially destroyed the El Angel Sugar Mill, between Nejapa and Apopa."

The station then reports a maneuver against the National Police and 4th Infantry Brigade at Nueva Concepcion, Chalatenango Department "that left 124 casualties—90 to National Police and 34 to the 4th Infantry Brigade." The announcer reports the attack against the 5th Infantry Brigade Headquarters in San Vicente Department "where 64 casualties were inflicted and important armament was recovered." The station reports on a maneuver against 6th Infantry Brigade troops in Usulutan "inflicting more than 60 casualties." The announcer reports on a maneuver in Dulce Nombre de Maria, Chalatenango Department, against 4th Infantry Brigade troops "inflicting 32 casualties and weapons were recovered."

Guatemala

British Correspondent Shot Dead in Capital

PA2907184591 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1742 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Guatemala City, 29 Jul (ACAN-EFE)—British diplomatic sources have reported that British citizen Anson Ng, a "FINANCIAL TIMES" correspondent, was found dead today in an apartment in the "Bugambilia" building in this capital.

According to the initial reports, Ng, who was also a correspondent for London's "BUSINESS INTERNATIONAL," was shot in his apartment.

So far the police have not disclosed the motive for the crime or the circumstances under which the journalist died.

The British Embassy in Guatemala confirmed Ng's death to ACAN-EFE but did not provide any further details.

Parties Call Third Round of Talks 'Successful'

PA2907131591 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1548 GMT 27 Jul 91

[Text] Queretaro, 27 Jul (NOTIMEX)—The Guatemalan Government and guerrilla groups have termed as successful the third round of talks that were held here and that will continue in August in a still unspecified country.

The conciliator, Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruno, said in a news conference that the Guatemalan Government and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) delegations which met here this week agreed that this phase of the peace process has concluded.

The president of the National Reconciliation Commission (CNR) termed as a success the meeting which resulted in a framework agreement on democratization.

Quezada Toruno said that the Queretaro Agreement was discussed, adding that the parties in conflict continued to analyze the human rights topic, which is "an important and essential issue for Guatemala."

He said that negotiations on this topic have helped "settle the issue, and, if possible, they will reach an agreement" during the next meeting, scheduled for late August.

The conciliator said that they have yet to decide where they will hold the next round of talks, which are intended to end an internal 30-year war that has left approximately 100,000 dead.

Quezada Toruno did not rule out the possibility that the next meeting will be held in any of the countries that comprise the group of UN Secretary General Javier

Perez de Cuellar's friends (Colombia, Spain, Mexico, and Venezuela), although he added that Guatemala has other friends it could call on.

Government delegation coordinator Manuel Conde and URNG Commander Rolando Moran said that the talks on human rights "have been quite clear." Conde added that significant progress was achieved on the human rights issue, which was the first point on the agenda approved in Mexico City in April.

Likewise, Moran said that the URNG outlined its positions on human rights "quite frankly, extensively, and openly, without avoiding our opinions, respective beliefs, and reciprocal views on the central issue."

Laura Bacari congratulated the two delegations on behalf of the UN secretary general for the success of the meeting, which achieved the dialogue's first "substantial" agreement.

The representatives of the Jorge Serrano government and the CNR will leave for Mexico City early tomorrow morning and then travel to Guatemala. The URNG delegation will leave Queratarо in the afternoon.

Mediator Views Agreement

PA2907201791 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1649 GMT 28 Jul 91

[Text] Guatemala City, 28 Jul (NOTIMEX)—The Queretaro democratization agreement, signed by the Guatemalan Government and guerrillas, is an important step for attaining peace, Rodolfo Quezada Toruno, president of the National Reconciliation Commission (CNR), has said.

The mediator, upon his arrival in this capital after the conclusion of the round of negotiations held in Mexico, explained that the political commitment of the government and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) was reflected in the talks.

Quezada Toruno said the absence of Carlos Gonzalez, secretary general of the Guatemalan Labor Party (PGT), one of the four organizations that comprise the URNG, does not mean there is a division within the rebels. It has no effect on the talks because the URNG General Command assumes responsibility for the entire democratization agreement, according to the mediator of the negotiations, the third round of which concluded on 26 July in the Mexican city of Queretaro.

Quezada Toruno said that, according to procedures, delegations do not have to be composed of a fixed number of members. He explained that both the government and the guerrillas have the freedom to form their delegations with the people and number they see fit.

As for the participation of UN observer Frances Vendrell, Quezada Toruno said the UN representative will continue playing his role and denied reports that he had resigned from his post.

Quezada Toruno said the parties have already initiated the discussions on the human rights topic, which are expected to be concluded during the next meeting.

The Guatemalan Government and guerrilla delegations and the CNR signed a democratization agreement to attain peace through political means on Thursday, 25 July. The Queretaro agreement states that to strengthen a functional democracy, the prevalence of a civilian society, the development of an institutional life, and the effective functioning of a state of law are required. Political repression, electoral fraud and impositions, military coup attempts and pressures, as well as antidemocratic destabilizing actions, should be eliminated, the agreement states.

Manuel Conde, secretary general of the presidency, said the goals of his delegation had been achieved. Conde, who heads the government delegation, reiterated the commitment of all parties involved and noted one of the points of the Queretaro agreement on the strengthening of a functional and participatory democracy.

In this regard, Conde said progress is being made with the peace initiative presented by President Jorge Serrano on 8 April of this year, which seeks a cease-fire, the strengthening of the state of law, social justice, and the strengthening of democracy.

The government delegation will neither propose nor seek a truce or a temporary suspension of the armed conflict in the country, but the signing of an agreement that can guarantee total peace for Guatemala, Conde added.

He pointed out that a first step has been taken in the process with the signing of this first concrete agreement, which is a framework for the discussion of the 10 remaining points in the Queretaro agreement necessary to end 30 years of war.

Serrano Interviewed on Results of Recent Summits

PA2907160591 Guatemala City Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 0400 GMT 26 Jul 91

[News conference by President Jorge Serrano at the National Palace in Guatemala City on 25 July—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Serrano] It is a pleasure for me to be with you. I am here to report to the Guatemalan people, through the media, on last week's meetings.

As the Guatemalan people know, our country was represented in two summit meetings. The first summit, that of the Central American presidents, took place in San Salvador, El Salvador. The second summit, the Ibero-American summit, took place in Guadalajara, Mexico.

I want to tell you that the two summits were very fruitful for our country. I am very tired because we worked hard for days. While I was out, I delivered at least eight speeches a day. However, I am very satisfied with what we have

achieved. I want to report to the people all the important aspects of these achievements. [passage omitted]

In my opinion, one very important result of our tour is that several very ambitious and daring agreements were signed. One such agreement was signed with El Salvador. This agreement is on a total free trade zone. This means that Guatemala will have completely open commerce with El Salvador. This will strengthen the market of these two countries of ours, which represent approximately 80 percent of the Central American market. This gives us the opportunity to strengthen our industry and our commerce and it creates a new market for our agricultural products. This is, generally speaking, a great achievement of Guatemala's economic policy. We think that this will greatly contribute to integration and will strengthen our position in the future.

We signed a free trade treaty with Venezuela also, only it is an assymetrical treaty. It is total and assymetrical. What does this mean? It means that for five years Guatemala will have a series of special privileges from Venezuela in our free trade relations. After that, we will engage in a compensations system until we enter a phase in which we will compete on an equal basis. [passage omitted]

Our meeting with Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari was very productive. It took place two days ago. We were able to discuss border problems, the lumber issue, drug trafficking, and other issues that have hampered relations between Mexico and Guatemala for years.

I want to tell you that President Salinas' disposition was extremely positive. We can cooperate with each other to [words indistinct] and to have real and efficient protection of our natural resources, to the point that Mexico, as far as I have been told, began its mobilization to the border points yesterday. Two days ago the ministers who traveled with me and some of President Salinas' cabinet secretaries held lengthy talks through which we were able to reach important agreements.

As you know, the doors of banks have been closed to Guatemala, but we are on the way to opening them. As a result of some of the negotiations in which I engaged when I was abroad, I secured two stopgap loans. One was for $50 million, to be granted by the Mexican Government; the other was for $30 million, from the Venezuelan Government. This substantially helps us open those international bank doors that have been closed. It also helps us stimulate investments on social projects that have been announced and to which banks have not reacted because of our [words indistinct] situation. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Mr. President, while the government and the URNG [Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity] were holding talks in Queretaro, subversive elements attacked [words indistinct]. How can you explain this, Mr. President?

[Serrano] This is unfortunate. I have said everywhere that they do not have to do this to force us into negotiations. My government is negotiating because of principles, because it believes it must find a peaceful solution to the controvery. It hurts me to see how now that we are negotiating we are being accused of doing things we have never done, and how some people are creating a bad climate for us to help the other side.

The crime—it can be called nothing else—that was committed in Pueblo Nuevo is a sign of the little respect they have for the civilian population. Why a crime like that in a town that has only two or three policemen? My government condemns this and again tells all illegal forces that this kind of crime is not necessary for the negotiating and reaching of agreements.

We are fighting impunity; we are working hard so that these things do not happen. We are not negotiating because of pressure, be sure of this. No one has pressured us into sitting at a negotiating table. We are doing it because we believe that our country deserves a better future. I firmly believe that negotiations are the civilized way of resolving differences. This is what I have to say.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Serrano] [Words indistinct] The idea of the Nobel Peace Prize has never entered my mind. What is really on my mind is to have peace in my fatherland. Everything else [words indistinct]. I will do whatever has to be done so that this country may live in peace, and I will do it because I love my fatherland. I am 46 years old and for as long as I can remember I have seen violence, and let me tell you: I am tired of it! I do not want it here. It is not that I am trying to get a prize. The truth is that prize seeking is an act of vanity.

What I want and what interests me, my dear friend—and tell this to the people you know—is peace, so that you may walk through the streets without fear, so that if someone commits a crime we will be able to punish him, so that we will have the elements to be able to penalize criminals. I say what I have in my heart. If I secure peace, I think that I will have served my fatherland and my family, and that I will have added dignity to my country.

With regard to Fidel Castro, let me tell you something: I am a civilized president. I am not so dumb as not to notice that the times are changing throughout the world: Gorbachev visits the pope; Bush and Gorbachev talk everywhere; everybody is reaching an understanding. Why should I sweat out somebody else's malady? I am looking for peace for my country. I will talk with whomever I have to talk to find peace because my main responsibility is to my country.

In the United States there is a person who has been threatening me and attacking me. Let him continue threatening me. He is not Guatemalan. I have to give answers to my country, to my people, who are dying, to them, the orphans and widows.

We have not given Castro any support. We have talked with Castro. I am not going to deny that. I talked with him, just as I talked with Felipe Gonzalez, with Carlos

Salinas de Gortari, with Carlos Andres Perez, with all the Ibero-Americans who were at the summit, so that there is no aggression on my country, so that hands are pulled out of our battlefield. I clearly stated this in my speech at the inauguration of the summit. You may recall it: Some have put in the money, others have put in the ideas, others have put in the arms, and we have put in the dead.

I do not understand why this sitution has to continue. I will work devotedly, with dedication, using all my intelligence, so that this situation comes to an end. I don't care: Nothing will prevent me from bringing peace to my country. [passage omitted]

Doctor Says Authorities Hiding Facts on Cholera

PA3007044091 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2244 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Guatemala City, 29 Jul (ACAN-EFE)—According to a doctor at the Guatemalan Social Security Institute (IGSS), who disclosed that two rivers in the southern part of the country are contaminated, Guatemala's sanitation authorities are attempting to conceal the true extent of the cholera outbreak, which has already claimed its first fatality.

The doctor, who asked not to be identified out of fear of being fired, told the Guatemalan newspaper LA HORA that Health Minister Miguel Angel Montepeque is concealing all the information he possibly can with regard to the cholera outbreak to avoid alarming the people.

The doctor explained that a patient from San Marcos Department, which borders with Mexico, contaminated the Suchiate River with the cholera virus when he took a bath there before being brought to the capital.

The doctor reiterated that the health minister "is very well informed with regard to the extent of the disease," but he is keeping this information under wraps.

The Naranjo River is also 90 percent contaminated by fecal matter, according to LA HORA and "Noti 7" newscast reporters who toured the region to assess the peasants' situation.

The health minister maintains that there are only four confirmed cases of cholera in areas bordering with Mexico and that the test results for 16 unconfirmed cases are awaited.

Nevertheless, the IGSS doctor gave assurances that there are over 70 patients suspected of having the virus who are awaiting the results of their lab tests. He added that at the IGSS alone there are six clinically confirmed cases of cholera.

Montepeque denied that minor Angel Giovanni Perez Gaspar died from cholera in San Marcos, saying that his death was caused by a diarrheic syndrome; this contradicts the statement made by Deputy Health Minister Edgar Figueroa, who said the opposite. Nevertheless, the minister admitted that the child had not been tested to dismiss the possibility of cholera.

Angel's father, Francisco Mazariegos, who is stricken with cholera and who is receiving treatment at the Coatepeque hospital on the country's southern coast, told the press that his son died from the same illness after they had eaten shrimp.

Coatepeque Hospital Director Marco Antonio Zenteno said that "several patients" have been admitted to the hospital, most them people who live along the Suchiate River. He added that all of the patients are in one ward to prevent the disease from spreading.

Newspaper sources announced on 29 July that two other children died from cholera in Antigua, Guatemala, and two women died in the eastern Department of Jutiana; this report has not been denied or confirmed by the authorities.

According to the health authorities' estimates, approximately 270,000 people could be contaminated if cholera spreads throughout Guatemala and the mortality rate would be approximately 1 percent.

Honduras

Salvadoran Rebels Attack Forces Near Border

PA3007014791 Tegucigalpa Telesistema Hondureno Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Text] Attention, we have a last minute report. Another incident occurred today, pitting Honduran troops against Salvadoran guerrilla forces at Mapulaca, Lempira Department, on the border between our two countries. We repeat, a new incident occurred today, pitting Honduran troops against Salvadoran guerrilla forces at Mapulaca, Lempira Department. Two women died, three civilians were wounded, and three soldiers were wounded.

According to an official report, the Honduran troops were attacked by Salvadoran guerrilla fighters while they were spending the night at an eatery in Honduran territory. The Salvadoran rebel attack has already been reported to the ONUCA [UN Observer Group in Central America] and the UN General Secretariat.

Honduras reasserts that the event occurred in our territory at 1200, and it deplores that the attack has occurred at a time when Central American integration is near and firm steps are being taken to achieve peace in Central America.

It has been reported that the wounded will be brought to Tegucigalpa and we will wait for further reports.

Callejas Travels to U.S. for Medical Checkup

PA2907233091 San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 29 Jul 91 p 2

[Text] Tegucigalpa—President Rafael Leonardo Callejas travels again today to the United States to have a

checkup at the Walter Reed hospital, citing health reasons. This demonstrates that the health of the president has suffered slight complications since he assumed his presidential duties in January 1990.

Callejas was first affected by an ailment last year during a presidential summit. Some time later he traveled to the United States. A few months ago he took three days off, citing an intestinal infection caused by eating some mangos.

The stomach problems appear to be the main cause of President Callejas' illnesses. However, the specific complication affecting the president's health has not yet been determined.

The Walter Reed medical center, which Callejas will visit, is a military hospital located in the city of Washington. It was also visited by former Honduran President Roberto Suazo Cordova.

The clinical record on the president's disease is kept secret and authorities only report that he is suffering from stomach problems, with the common symptoms that are known to all. However, given the president's frequent medical checkups, it appears that this illness must be closely monitored.

According to specialists, the president may be suffering from gastric and duodenal ulcer, gastroenterological complications such as cholera and typhoid fever, or viral problems.

The president may also be suffering from colon disease, pancreas complications, genetic lack of enzymes, poor absorption [of food], and manifestations of systematic illnesses.

The president will travel to the United States accompanied by First Lady Norma Gaborit and his children. After the medical checkup, the president will enjoy a vacation and he is expected to return to the country in approximately 14 days.

The president recommends that citizens use the health services of the country, but with his actions he demonstrates that he does not trust Honduran doctors. That is why he decided to travel abroad.

Although the president argues that he travels abroad strictly to take care of his health or that of his wife, many people have confirmed that on his last visit to Miami, earlier this year, he was not in a hospital. Instead, he was seen at a concert given by Spanish singer Paloma San Basilio.

It was unofficially confirmed that, in addition to the medical checkup, the president will take this opportunity to meet with officials from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as Bernard Aronson, assistant secretary of state for Inter-American affairs, in order to expedite some loans.

Officers Ordered Arrested in Student Murder Case

PA2707220491 Paris AFP in Spanish 0522 GMT 27 Jul 91

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 26 Jul (AFP)—Honduran authorities today ordered the arrest of Colonel Angel Castillo, commander in charge of personnel at the First Communications Batallion, and Captain Ovidio Andino, accused by witnesses as "suspicious" in the Mabel Martinez student murder case.

The arrest warrant was issued by Judge Maria Mendoza, who is investigating the Martinez case, in which a student was found raped and murdered after she had been talking to Castillo and Andino on 13 July.

In a news conference on 16 July, Castillo said that he did not know Martinez. Nevertheless, at the same news conference he admitted he did know her, but only after Onix Martinez, Mabel's sister, explained that the victim's schoolmates had introduced her to the officer a month ago, to have a recruited student dismissed.

Subsequently, Martinez' mother disclosed that Col. Castillo had promised Mabel on 13 July that recruit Ruben Hurtado would be dismissed.

While the local press today confirmed that Castillo and Andio were already under arrest on a military installation, Judge Mendoza was questioning for the third time Santos Ilovares, a driver assigned to the Armed Forces General Staff Headquarters who had confessed to the crime.

Ilovares subsequently withdrew his confession, claiming he would have been tortured [had he not confessed] by the National Investigation Directorate (secret police).

Ilovares on 25 July said: "I fear for my life, I can feel giant footsteps behind me," referring to very powerful persons. Ilovares reiterated that "it was all a lie," claiming that he had fabricated the story that he had offered the young Martinez a "lift" as she walked along the road that leads to the battalion, which is located 10 km west of Tegucigalpa.

[Paris AFP in Spanish at 1620 GMT on 27 July states that it has been officially reported that Honduran Public Security Commander Colonel Guillermo Paredes has refused to carry out the arrest warrant issued by a civilian court against the two military officers implicated in the Mabel Martinez "murder" case.]

Nicaragua

Lacayo Returns From Meeting With World Bank

PA2907195891 Managua Radio Ya in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Minister of the Presidency Antonio Lacayo has returned to the country after signing an agreement by which the World Bank will grant credit to Nicaragua as

soon as the government pays $360 million of its outstanding foreign debt on 31 August. Minister Lacayo arranged for the disbursement of $420 million during his three-day trip. Of this amount, $220 million will be deposited directly in the World Bank and will help reactivate the nation's economy.

The funds will be used to finance coffee plantations and livestock breeding, and to repair Corinto Port, roads, and highways. During October they will renegotiate the foreign debt with the United States and Europe.

The minister of the presidency, upon his return from the United States, said that it is jail or death for El Indomable if he does not surrender to the police who are searching for him. He said that the government has met with the other recontras but El Indomable continues fighting because he has very different interests than those of Commanders Tigrillo, Dimas, and Rojito. El Indomitable and his envoys have not wanted to hold talks with the government. Lacayo added that the rebel has committed crimes that go against the agreements signed with the members of the former Nicaraguan resistance movement.

RN Members Fearful of EPS; May Rearm

PA2607231691 Managua Radio Catolica in Spanish 1130 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] We have a last minute report from Rancho Grande, which has been besieged by the Sandinist People's Army [EPS].

Residents of Rancho Grande have reported that they are living in fear amid a climate of war created by the EPS in that sector. They have said that a heavy exchange of fire that broke out on the night of 23 July lasted several hours. Bursts of machine gun fire, indeed fire from weapons of every caliber, could be heard in different areas.

Parents and children threw themselves on the ground to escape shots coming from every direction. The concern of Rancho Grande residents and our informers is that the EPS is pulling back and surrounding the entire town in a warlike stance. Members of the Nicaraguan Resistance [RN], believed to number over 500 in Rancho Grande, have been very diligently working on their basic grain crops, but they are being hounded and threatened.

In the case of demobilized fighter Juan Ramon Diaz Castillo, on the day of the incident his house was surrounded by EPS forces and he has been subsequently harassed by active reserve Sublieutenant Reynaldo Zeledon, alias El Zorro [the fox]. RN members and commanders are meeting in various areas to organize themselves because their lives are at stake. [RN] Commander Gavilan has said that they do not want to rearm, but that they are being forced to because there is no other alternative; their lives are at stake and they have no guarantees in Rancho Grande, where many former members of state security have been seen. Moreover, the EPS is in full control of the town. The RN is asking the central government to provide guarantees for them; if it does not, they will be forced to rearm, our source has said.

Panama

Legislators' Renegotiation of Bases Criticized

PA2907041791 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 28 Jul 91 p 1-A

[Article by Elkilia Santos]

[Text] Guillermo Cochez, vice president of the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] of Panama, yesterday labeled "irresponsible" the offer by a group of Panamanian legislators to the United States to retain their military bases within this territory at the end of the decade.

"The Panamanian legislators who are currently visiting the United States do not represent the Legislative Assembly's general opinion. We therefore consider it irresponsible that they are making offers to U.S. senators with regard to their forces remaining at the military bases after the year 2000," Cochez said.

A Panamanian Legislative Assembly mission has been in the United States since last week holding meetings with their U.S. counterparts on the possible extension of the presence of U.S. military forces in Panama after Panama assumes total control of the canal, which is slated for 31 December 1999.

A communique bearing the signature of the PDC bloc coordinator at the Legislative Assembly points out that the trip undertaken by some of their colleagues to the United States "is not an official Legislative Assembly trip." It is not an official trip, the communique claims, given that only legislators from the ruling faction participated, as opposed to all those represented in the Legislative Branch, as the rules establish for this type of mission.

The PDC legislators reiterated their position that any definition with regard to issues so sensitive to the nation as those related to the canal and the U.S. presence in Panama should be the result of a nationwide debate organized by those who have the constitutional power to do so and who truly reflect the people's will.

Meanwhile, National Bar Association President Jose Alberto Alvarez said that he totally disagrees with the Panamanian legislators who traveled to the United States to ask George Bush's government to pressure the Government of Panama to sit down and renegotiate the U.S. presence at the military bases in this country.

"This demonstrates that in Panama there is a number of Panamanians who are servile by vocation. This matter of traveling to the United States to ask them to come down and negotiate the military bases borders on stupidity," Alvarez said.

One week ago Legislators Leo Gonzalez, Francisco Artola, Arnulfo Escalona, and Alfonos Fernandez traveled to the

United Stated to request that U.S. Government "twist" the Panamanian Government's "arm" to sit down and renegotiate their presence on the military bases.

Colon Transportation Strike Ends With Agreement

PA2907142191 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio in Spanish 1305 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] This morning the leaders of the Colon Free Zone transportation sector reached an agreement with the Colon Free Zone concession holders. Thus the conflict that lasted approximately 12 days has ended. It has been reported that the parties reached a seven-point agreement that has to be countersigned by the executive branch. With this action the national transportation strike is suspended. The Panama-Colon bus drivers have announced that they will start working at 0400 today.

The agreement establishes a Colon Free Zone transportation commission that is to approve the requirements the firms must meet to obtain cargo vehicle passes in 15 days. Some analysts have indicated that this strike caused $30 million in losses daily. The approximate total losses amounted to $360 million.

Primarily the strike negatively affected the movement of containers at the port of Cristobal, as most of the merchandise in that area had been sold and could not be delivered. Now that the strike has ended there will be serious problems delivering the cargo, and more than 20 days—working a minimum of 18 hours a day—will be needed to take care of all the backlogged merchandise.

Taxi Drivers Suspend Call for Strike 28 Jul

PA2807043991 Panama City Telemetro Television Network in Spanish 0404 GMT 28 Jul 91

[Text] The National Federation of Taxi Drivers [FENACOTA], an organization comprised of 12 labor unions nationally, decided to suspend its call for a strike tonight because it believes its objectives have been met, which were to have the parties involved in the conflict meet.

Franz Wever, secretary general of the organization, gives more details on the matter:

[Begin Wever recording] We have decided to suspend the strike scheduled for 28 July because the intention of the National Federation of Taxi Drivers has been to precisely call for a dialogue between the parties involved. We want to note that we have responsibly considered that thanks to the measure that has been adopted today and to the talks that are taking place, the strike announced by the National Federation of Taxi Drivers has been suspended, as of now. We believe both parties have good intentions. The government showed its maturity when it's minister sat down at the table and when it appointed a commission, which is holding negotiations in Colon now. We are completely satisfied. I believe it is a mature attitude. We know that something positive will emerge from this dialogue, for the transportation sector as well as for the Panamanian community. We do not believe the situation will change, therefore we believe a new call for a strike is unnecessary. [end recording]

The parties involved continue the negotiations in Colon without any final agreement being reached. Stay tuned, we will continue to report.

President Endara Sanctions Law Approving MLAT

PA2907233591 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 26 Jul 91 p 14

[Text] President Guillermo Endara sanctioned Law No. 20 of 22 July 91, approving the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty between Panama and the United States regarding mutual assistance in penal matters, signed in Panama, on 11 April 91.

This treaty, approved in special sessions this month, will be published soon in the Official Gazette.

The treaty is aimed at fighting international crime, money laundering, drug trafficking, fraud, and other crimes, which carry a prison term of over one year.

The controversial agreement was widely discussed by the country's different judicial, banking, and administrative sectors.

The international agreement seeks to "clean up the image of Panama in the eyes of the world" and represents an improvement in judicial matters, Olimpo Saenz, president of the Legislative Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee, pointed out.

Drug trafficking, theft, embezzlement, and fraud, among others, will be considered violations of the agreement and, therefore, Panama and the United States will assist each other in the investigation, prosecution, and sentencing of these crimes.

The treaty will take effect in Panama once the two countries exchange the ratification documents.

However, if there is any amendment, addition, reservation, agreement, understanding or clause, or if any other change is made to the original document, such change will have to be submitted to the Legislative Assembly for discussion in three debates.

Columnist Comments on Foreign Minister's Actions

PA2907141091 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 25 Jul 91 p 6

[From the "Improvisations" column by Alfredo Icaza: "Incongruities"]

[Text] I have never accepted, and will never accept, that a fellow citizen can be ill-treated or unfairly treated in foreign territory....

When I was our country's ambassador in other countries in our America, I had to defend fellow citizens on several occasions, sometimes risking my personal safety and my

high-ranking diplomatic position. This is done by men who have principles, and goals....

How can the spirit of national dignity be so misconstrued?

Scoundrels of the Noriega regime were imprisoned or sought the safety of an allied country's embassy, yet they were offered the "gift" of a safe-conduct even when they were involved in all kinds of crimes.... There is a constant sound of "yes sir" heard among high-ranking government officials, saddening all those of us who believe in an independent nation because we observe, with pent-up and hidden shame, how the miserable gringo masters meddle constantly, every day, indicating what the government's actions should be, which is as follows: Be submissively and abjectly "courteous and obedient," and answer with a cowardly, unethical, and highly degrading "yes sir."

Minister Linares has again become involved in a despicable and submissive action, this time in the case of Panamanian citizen Alex Arosemena Saavedra, who was arrested in Panamanian territory by Costa Rican guards and threatened with being sent, deported, to the United States, which involves the acceptance of a legal interference that is totally alien to Panamanian law.

Panamanians must be defended, even if they are guilty, in foreign lands; otherwise, we would succumb to the most hateful action, that is, abandoning those who deserve to be investigated, tried, and acquitted or condemned in their own country.

Alex Ariel Arosemena Saavedra's parents, citizen Rodrigo Arosemena R. and his wife, Mrs. Eufemia Saavedra de Arosemena, are right when they state, in an open letter sent to Minister Linares through their legal attorney: "If our son perpetrated a crime in the United States, which he denies, then he should be arrested in Panama and he should be given the opportunity to defend himself, as it should be. However, you committed a crime against the homeland when you let our son suffer the rigors of an arrest by foreign agents that was carried out in Panamanian territory. This has allowed them to treat him most inhumanely, in a clear imitation of Noriega's methods, in a country—and by the authorities of that country—where he committed no crime. Consequently, there is no reason why he should be arrested or tried and treated as they have done."

I repeat, as Panamana's ambassador to many countries, I never left unprotected fellow citizens whom I was dutybound to defend. The last one was Dr. Pasos Marciaq, whose mother was a Panamanian citizen, in 1973. I granted him asylum and saved his life and this cost me the post of ambassador to Nicaragua.

I cannot imagine how a minister can commit so many stupid mistakes!!!

Argentina

Further Reportage on Border Situation With Chile

Residents 'Infuriated'

PY2907171691 Madrid EFE in English 1635 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Rio Gallegos, Argentina, July 29 (EFE)—Residents near Argentina's western frontier are furious with the government for allowing a group of Latin American experts to decide on a long-standing border dispute which could see their land incorporated into neighboring Chile.

President Carlos Menem's decision to allow a Latin American commission to investigate border claims for 500 sq. km of territory known as Laguna del Desierto in the Province of Santa Cruz, 1,700 km southwest of Buenos Aires, has infuriated local residents.

The provincial Chamber of Deputies announced it would hold a special session in Laguna del Desierto on Wednesday as "a declaration to reaffirm the sovereign rights of the province and the nation".

Menem and Chilean President Patricio Aylwin are to meet Thursday in Buenos Aires to discuss the border claims.

"The national leadership is not very interested in Santa Cruz," complained Roman Catholic Bishop Miguel Aleman of the provincial capital of Rio Gallegos.

"We're aware that we contribute very few votes and we carry minimal political weight in Argentina as a whole," the bishop said.

Local opposition Radical Civic Union leader Ernesto Cruz complained that provincial deputies "have not had the least involvement with the government's decision".

Santa Cruz's main union said Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella would not be welcome in the province.

The sparsely-populated Laguna del Desierto border region is the most contentious section of the 5,000 km strip between Argentina and Chile which has been under dispute for more than a century.

The border territory, which stretches from uninhabited land along the Andes mountain chain as far south as the Antarctic, almost brought the two countries to war in 1978 until the Pope stepped in as mediator.

The two countries are expected to resolve the sovereignty of much of the land through bilateral negotiation, with the Latin American commission presenting a ruling only on the hotly-disputed Laguna del Desierto region.

Minister Visits Province

PY2907203691 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1919 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Jul (TELAM)—Deputy Foreign Minister Juan Carlos Olima today blamed a "lack of information" for the opposition of the people of Santa Cruz to a Latin American arbitration on the border conflict with Chile over Laguna del Desierto. He added that he is going to the province "with all humility to explain the situation."

Olima left for Santa Cruz from the Aeroparque Metropolitan Airport this afternoon. Just before leaving he said that the provincial legislative assembly to be held and the mobilization to be carried out by the people of Santa Cruz in Laguna del Desierto on 1 August "is a positive demonstration by people who love their fatherland, their land."

Olima said: "I do not know if they will approve everything we did, but I am absolutely convinced that after the explanations are made they will agree with the main guidelines." He added that he is not aware "if it is true" that Foreign Minister Guido di Tella has been declared "persona no grata" in that province.

Officials Allegedly Involved in Money Laundering

PY2907200691 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1723 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 29 Jul (NA)--During the past few hours, the government has received "clear" information on the "various possibilities that are being handled" in a scandal over the alleged involvement of state officials in a money-laundering case.

This was disclosed by a high-placed government source who indicated that, according to information, "several people are involved in this affair."

The source contacted by NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS supplied the names of some officials who "one way or another were aware of or involved in the operations that allegedly were carried out."

"There is great concern because not only three people would be involved in this affair," the source said, adding that "according to data gathered from the highest-placed sources involved in the investigation, other officials also would be involved."

Apparently, President Carlos Menem has decided to order a series of unofficial contacts "with officials from other governments to learn all the details of the Yomagate issue."

Concerning this point, it has been learned that a high-ranking Spanish Government official paved the way about two weeks ago for the Spanish courts to supply a detailed report on their investigations.

The source added: "It is believed that Amira Yoma's situation is very delicate and that sooner or later she will end up in prison. For this reason, the government is trying to get rid of those officials as soon as possible."

According to the data being handled by the government, an important entrepreneur, tied to the companies struggling to win the concession for an Argentine horse racetrack, would be "seriously involved."

The source added: "This person would be the mastermind of the so- called 'Yoma Clan' and, although he has not yet been indicted, he is being very closely linked to the alleged operations to launder dollars from narcotics trafficking."

It also has been learned that a person closely linked to the president, a person who over the past few days has not appeared next to the president, also is involved and, in order to elude a court summons, this person reportedly has planned "to escape from the country."

This person "would be the Yomas' political and economic operator," the source added.

The source said: "They are trying to convince him to stay [in the country] and face [words indistinct], but he wants to leave Argentina."

Concerning the situation of Ramon Hernandez, one of the president's private secretaries, it is being said that "he is clean and will not have problems."

Fernandez is accused of being aware of the contents of a former confession by current court witness Khalil Husayn Dib and of not reporting the events.

In addition, Amira Yoma remained hospitalized today in the Ditem clinic. She cannot leave the place—on court orders—because forensic doctors have determined that she might attempt suicide.

Meanwhile, people are awaiting new developments in the investigation Judge Maria Servini de Cubria is carrying out here. In the political field, the government has received with satisfaction the outcome of the primaries of the Buenos Aires PJ [Justicialist Party] held yesterday. Eduardo Duhalde won a primary victory by an overwhelming majority.

A political operator for the new Buenos Aires gubernatorial candidate noted: "This represents a step forward for Duhalde, because it clearly demonstrates that Peronist members have rejected the reports seeking to get him involved in the affair."

The political operator said: "It is believed in those circles that, should the propaganda that was made by various sectors against Duhalde have had any influence, Peronism would have punished him by voting against him."

Under Secretary Rules Out Devaluation

PY2607224591 Buenos Aires Radio Nacional Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] Under Secretary of Industry and Commerce Juan Schiaretti has stressed that there will be no devaluation. He said: We have entered a stage of maintaining stability and beginning to think about the transformation of the industrial sector.

Schiaretti added that from the viewpoint of protection, the current Argentine tariff system is more efficient than the two previously amended systems.

Oil Reserves Placed Under Provincial Control

PY2707233291 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 26 Jul 91 p 5

[Text] A draft bill putting oil reserves under the control of the provinces received the go-ahead from President Carlos Menem at a cabinet meeting yesterday.

The transfer of control over oil resources from federal to provincial hands foresees making the provinces 39 percent shareholders in state oil company YPF [Government Oil Deposits] once it has been rationalized and turned into a joint stock company. A 12 percent royalty on oil earnings for the provinces is set in the project until the effective handover of resources. The federal government will maintain a 51 percent stake in YPF and remaining shares will be split between YPF employees and private shareholders.

The 16-article draft bill has been well-received by OFEPHI [expansion unknown] group of oil provinces, which will meet with Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo to discuss the project next Thursday [2 August].

In other oil news, the Energy Undersecretariat yesterday gave the green light for the privatization of 23 secondary oil areas, of a total 28 offered in a recent tender.

The bids, which must be now approved by Cavallo, will bring in a total $170 million dollars for the national government.

Oil Production Up Four Percent Over Six Months

PY2607235891 Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 23 Jul 91 Second Section p 1

[Summary] The Government Oil Deposits enterprise has reported that national oil production increased 4 percent during the first half of 1991, with a total of 13,919,883 cubic meters. During the first half of 1990, national oil production totaled 13,664,294 cubic meters.

Bolivia

Extradition Amnesty for Drug Traffickers Begins

Interior Minister Comments

PY3007014491 Madrid EFE in English 0025 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Text] La Paz, July 29 (EFE)—The Bolivian Government issued a decree Monday putting into effect its amnesty offer to the country's top drug traffickers who will be immune from extradition and receive reduced jail sentences if they surrender within the next 120 days.

At the official start of the amnesty period, Interior Minister Carlos Saavedra described the so-called peace plan as "a very important step in the struggle against drug trafficking."

The government had recently announced the measure which stipulates that if drug traffickers surrender to authorities within four months they will receive a fixed five-year prison sentence for drug-trafficking offenses and be immune from extradition.

U.S. authorities have extradition warrants outstanding for 17 Bolivian drug traffickers.

The Bolivian Government insists its drug peace plan differs from the permanent measure undertaken by Colombian President Cesar Gaviria who has also promised not to extradite to the United States surrendering drug traffickers.

La Paz says its drug plan is aimed at preventing an escalation of drug-related violence while the Bogota government's initiative, which also includes reduced prison terms, was aimed at countering an already virulent strain of "narcoterrorism."

The decree will not apply to drug traffickers who are captured by the security forces during the next 120 days.

But Saavedra said the offer would be applied retrospectively to Bolivia's top drug trafficker Erwin Guzman who surrendered to authorities last month in anticipation of such a move by the government.

Top Traffickers To Surrender

PY3007022491 La Paz La Red Panamericana in Spanish 0000 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Text] Interior Minister Carlos Saavedra Bruno said today in a news conference that drug trafficking cannot be eliminated by decree in our country. He said: It would be very naive on our part to advocate something like that, but we are sure that if the plan to get the surrender of important drug traffickers becomes successful the illegal traffic of controlled substances in Bolivia can be reduced.

Minister Saavedra Bruno explained to the media the extent of the supreme decree on repentance that was promulgated by the government. Saavedra believes that this instrument is very important for the struggle against drug trafficking because, in accordance with the Constitution, the people who committed any of the crimes outlined in Law 1008 can appear before the prosecutor of controlled substances, within the framework of the rights, duties, and guarantees established by the Constitution to freely and spontaneously explain the punishable violations in which they were involved either as perpetrators or accomplices of a crime. [recorded passage indistinct]

Saavedra also revealed letters from two of the 10 largest drug traffickers operating in our country. (Jorge Flores Mejia) and [first name indistinct] (Rodriguez) are two criminals, who wrote letters to tell the government their desire to surrender to Bolivian justice to avoid extradition to the United States.

Therefore, it is possible that in the next few hours the two individuals will surrender under the plan, which so far has not produced anything, concerning an issue that has created national and international interest.

Police Reportedly Discover New Guerrilla Cells

PY2607220791 La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 20 Jul 91 p 7

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The police headquarters confirmed on 19 July that the "Red Offensive of Ayllus Tupac Kataris [Ofensiva Roja de Ayllus Tupac Kataristas] armed organization, which follows a Marxist, Leninist, Maoist, and Tupac Katari ideology, has begun guerrilla attacks against economic objectives in the Bolivian Altiplano.

Moreover, it is possible that these attacks are being carried out by a political-military group that follows the ideology of the guerrilla who died in the Bolivian jungle in 1967, Ernesto Che Guevara.

The source of this information, who preferred to remain anonymous, stressed that the police and the Intelligence Department are following these two clues in their efforts to capture those responsible for the destruction of a high tension power tower and the La Paz-Cochabamba gas and multiuse pipeline.

The intelligence community, which includes the police and Army Security, has discovered that "several subversive cells" are being mobilized within the country, creating problems for the security services.

The source explained that these cells respond to one central political-military organization, which is believed to have the support of Peruvian guerrilla movements.

Due to the significant acts of sedition that could be carried out by these armed groups, state security organizations have begun to take precautions.

The Interior Ministry has instructed the police to reinforce the protection of public and private enterprises; be they services or productive companies, foreign embassies or border posts.

The second precautionary measure is the creation of a "special antiterrorist police force" that will be capable of preventing" the appearance of these guerrilla groups anywhere" and at any time.

Bank Official Expects Economic Growth This Year

PY2707185491 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Text] The economic indicators for the first half of 1991 are optimal. Because Bolivia has solved its debt with private banks, it may now expect sustained development. Fernando Campero Paz, economic studies director of the Central Bank, reported the following:

[Begin Campero recording] We know the economy will grow considerably this year. Investment has increased considerably this year in comparison with last year. Public investment grew by 17 to 22 percent more than during the first half of last year. Our reserves also grew significantly; we currently have $200 million in reserves in the Central Bank. The banking interest rates dropped remarkably as a result, to a great extent, of the Central Bank monetary policy that reduced the interest rates of deposit certificates, that is, of the Central Bank's long-term deposits. These elements, including positive foreign trade indicators, since our nontraditional exports increased considerably in comparison with last year, demonstrate a considerable growth in our GDP. We hope that our GDP growth will be greater than 3.5 percent this year. [end recording]

Comptroller on 'Irregular Procedures' in YPFB

PY2607191991 La Paz Radio Fides Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Rafael Pena Parada, president of YPFB [Bolivian Government Oil Deposits], last night requested temporary leave in a letter to the president of the Republic. The letter states: I am the first to respect the laws of the Republic. I am convinced that the law must be applied with strength and justice, and that it must be respected by everyone; the governors and the governed.

Rafael Pena Parada has been YPFB president since 18 August 1989, just 12 days after the current government constitutional term begun.

We repeat, YPFB President Rafael Pena Parada has requested temporary leave as the result of the National Comptroller's Office report, which reveals irregular procedures in the administration of YPFB.

Brazil

Collor Scorns First World's Lack of Reciprocity

PY3007005691 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 28 Jul 91 Section 1 p 1

[Reported by Sonia Mossri from FOLHA's Brasilia bureau]

[Text] President Fernando Collor de Mello is noting a "lack of reciprocity" in his relations with First World countries and financial institutions. The president's reaction to a statement made by an IMF expert suggesting changes in the Brazilian Constitution reflected the president's feelings in that regard.

That is the evaluation of the president's behavior in recent months by close advisers. That lack of reciprocity has left Collor disgusted and caused a change in his speeches, which have turned from approval to criticism.

President Collor is irritated with the developed countries, because he believes he has adopted several liberalizing measures requested by the international community that have not been reciprocated thus far.

Collor frequently mentions that he liberated imports, sent bills to Congress ending protectionism in the computer market and recognizing industrial patents, and promised to use nuclear energy only for peaceful ends.

The president's irritation surfaced this past Monday during a meeting on the environment at Planalto Palace, when he criticized the Group of Seven (the world's most industrialized countries) decision to back off on last year's promise to provide resources for conservation projects in the Amazon region, asking the Brazilian Government to make additional studies.

At the end of last Monday's meeting, President Collor showed his discontent with charges that his speech in Guadalajara, Mexico, during the first Ibero-American Summit marked a return to the Third World camp.

At the Guadalajara Summit, President Collor said that after the cold war ended the "empire of the North" is emerging richer, while the South is getting poorer. Collor pointed out that Brazil was not returning to the Third World camp but that the Brazilian Government resents the lack of reciprocity by First World countries.

The Economy Ministry interprets Collor's departure from the "soft" style differently: President Collor got information that the IMF mission landed in Brasilia, convinced that the replacement of Zelia Cardoso de Mello by Marcilio Marques Moreira at the helm of the Economy Ministry would make it easy to reach an agreement in line with the IMF's harsh rules.

Collor's reaction, demanding that the IMF mission head be replaced, is causing apprehension within the ranks of the government: the fear that such a reaction might prompt the resurgence of a nationalistic movement,

linking groups led by Governor Leonel Brizola in Rio de Janeiro State to groups headed by Governor Gilberto Mestrinho in Amazonas State.

Rio Governor Tells PDT To Oppose Government

PY2907191691 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 27 Jul 91 p 3

[Reported by Eliane Veloso]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro: Governor Lenonel Brizola's rapprochement with President Collor does not mean political support for the government in Congress. Brizola sent a message to the Democratic Worker's Party [PDT] bloc in the National Congress (43 deputies and five senators) urging them to continue opposing the government during the second semester of congressional activities. Brizola invited Federal Deputy Vivaldo Barbosa (PDT Rio de Janeiro), PDT leader in the Chamber of Deputies, to visit his apartment in Copacabana on 25 July. During the visit, Brizola asked Deputy Barbosa to tell the PDT-bloc members to continue defending the party's nationalist principles in general, and to oppose the privatization of the state-owned companies in particular.

Brizola's message will calm the PDT congressmen who became confused because in his last meeting with Collor, Brizola admitted that a possible administrative rapprochement between them could become a political alliance based on common proposals. During the last few days, PDT congressmen began a movement to invite Brizola to a meeting with the PDT federal congressional bloc at the beginning of August to discuss the limits of the party rapprochement with the government.

Although most PDT congressmen agree on the impossibility of unconditional support for the government, there are some slight disagreements over the issue. Leader Vivaldo Barbosa, for example, believes it is inconceivable that the PDT would support Collor until he reviews two basic aspects of his economic model: The internationalization of the economy and the concentration of income. Barbosa admits, however, that Collor "deserves special respect from the PDT" in view of his decision to take over the Public Education Integrated Centers [Centros Integrados de Educacao Publica—Cieps] program.

Some say, however, that the message Brizola—the PDT national leader—gave to Barbosa urging the PDT bloc to maintain its traditional position in Congress is just one of Brizola's political maneuvers. The PDT congressmen, who are not concerned about an administrative or political rapprochement between Brizola and Collor, believe that Brizola wants to continue opposing the federal government in Congress to have more bargaining power, when the two discuss the possibility of an alliance. Through this opposition, Brizola can obtain more concrete results in the administrative rapprochement, such as more resources for Rio de Janeiro State, and can get President Collor to accept some of his many suggestions.

Funds for States, Municipalities in Budget Law

PY2807210691 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 24 Jul 91 Section 1 p 5

[From the Brasilia Bureau]

[Excerpt] Following the recommendation of a technical study by Jose Carlos Alves dos Santos, the director of the Budget Department of the Union [Departamento de Orcamentos da Uniao] (DOU), President Fernando Collor de Mello has maintained Article 17 of the 1992 Budget Guidelines Law [Lei de Diretrizes Orcamentarias] (LDO) that was sanctioned on 22 July.

The sanctioned provision allows the transfer of budget resources to the states and municipalities, without requiring agreements, by presenting an investment plan to the organization holding the resources. In the opinion of opposition Senator Eduardo Suplicy (Workers Party-Sao Paulo State), Article 17 represents "an open gate to electoral goals."

Planning Secretary Pedro Pullen Parente, to whom the DOU is subordinate, even thought about a proposal to veto Article 17 but abstained in view of Alves dos Santos' recommendations. In a study of this issue, the DOU director concluded that the requirements in the provision itself for the presentation of the investment plan for the budget resources, in addition to documentary evidence that the state or municipality is not in default, are sufficient guarantees for good management of the resources. [passage omitted]

Composition of Army High Command Altered

PY2607142891 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 24 Jul 91 section 1, p 7

[Text] The next promotions to general within the Army will mean less space for the so-called intelligence community. With the retirement of Army General Luiz Pires Ururahy Neto, no former high-ranking intelligence officer will remain in the Army High Command.

The intelligence community, headed during the military regime by the now-defunct National Service for Intelligence (SNI), and some of whose members were promoted to generals, during the Sarney administration, has lost ground to the line of the so-called more professional officers, headed by Army Minister Carlos Tinoco.

The Army High Command met yesterday in Brasilia to define the list of promotions. The promotion board, headed by Gen. Tinoco and made up of 14 Army generals, will vote today on a list of promotions.

Ururahy, who will mark 12 years as a general this month, will retire. Ururahy headed the SNI during the Sarney administration.

The division generals, who must be promoted to Army generals, are Clovis Jacy Burmann and Geise Ferrari. Brigade Generals Sergio Ruschel Bergamaschi, Francisco de

Paula Pessoa, Domingos Gazzineo, and Orlando de Carvalho are candidates for division generals.

Firm To Build Insulin Factory in USSR

PY2707211291 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 23 Jul 91 p 9

[Reported by Noenio Spinola from Moscow—all names as published]

[Text] After a year of negotiations that included a visit to Brazil by a Soviet deputy health minister and the installation of Brazilian representatives in Moscow, Biobras—a Brazilian biotechnology company based in Montes Claros, Minas Gerais State—has opened up the Soviet market for human insulin. Biobras has just signed a contract to set up a factory in that country, and has thus secured a market totaling $200 million annually, a market that has, thus far, been controlled by European suppliers.

The agreement was signed by Aleksey Vasilyevich Sergeyev, chairman of the Soviet Pharmaceutical Committee for Endocrinological Preparations; Vladimir Carvalho, director of the Biofar Trading Corporation; and Ivan Ivanovich Diedov, representative of the Soviet Academy of Sciences National Endocrinological Center.

Carvalho said: "There are shortages of several items in the Soviet Union, and insulin—which is used by diabetics to compensate for their bodies' failure to absorb carbohydrates—is one of them." In his opinion, Biobras successfully proved to the Soviets that its technology can compete with that of the world's largest laboratories. He added: "Soviet specialists were able to confirm this, when they visited the Montes Claros laboratories."

Carvalho added that the Soviet Union became interested in the Brazilian company not only because of its technology, but because the Soviets wanted to stop depending on exclusive suppliers. After entering the Soviet market, the Brazilian company could now enter other markets such as those of China, Korea, and India.

* INPE Lets Contracts for Satellites

91SM0400A Sao Paulo GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 27 Jun 91 p 13

[Article by Sao Jose de Campos correspondent Carlos Lovizzaro]

[Text] The National Institute of Space Research (INPE) last week signed contracts worth $9.9 million with Brazilian firms to build the most sensitive components of the two optical sensing satellites under the Brazilian Complete Space Mission (MECB).

"After a year of postponements, we have completed the orders intended to be placed with private enterprise, which total $13 million," said Carlos Eduardo Santana, the electronic engineer responsible for INPE's data collection satellite project. According to Santana, $4.5 million is guaranteed under this year's budget.

The engineering prototype for testing should be ready at the end of 1993. "That way, we will be able to conduct all the tests and correct any design errors in the project," Santana emphasized. Launch is scheduled for 1995, aboard a Brazilian rocket being developed by the Aerospace Technical Center (CTA).

The main contract, for $9 million, was let to Esca Engenharia Sistemas de Controle de Automacao, S.A., of Sao Paulo, which will develop the imaging instruments—an optical-electronic assembly that captures the images of the earth's surface and transmits the signals to a base here in Brazil.

The imaging assembly consists of a camera, signal processor, transmitter, and antenna. Esca's role, according to Pedro Cury, its marketing director, "will be to evaluate the feasibility of the project developed by INPE, order the different components from Brazilian suppliers, and put the final assembly together."

Esca will be assisted in its work by consultants from the French firm of Matra. "The most difficult part of the project is to develop the camera," Cury acknowledged. The system is able to capture images of the earth's surface in strips 900 km wide and identify geographic features or buildings with a lateral spatial resolution of 260 meters.

In all Esca, will have to deliver nine imaging systems and three test devices to INPE—the first unit within 14 months, and the last within 30 months. Four imaging systems and one test device will be used in the MECB date collecting satellite while the others are earmarked for the China-Brazilian earth resources satellite (CBERS).

This joint program between the two countries calls for two satellites, to be launched, using the "Long March" rocket, in 1993 and 1995. "Unfortunately, except for this contract with Esca, we do not yet have funds for contracting with suppliers for the CBERS," said INPE's Santana.

Another company chosen as supplier of the MECB data collection satellite was Elebra Sistemas de Defesa Ltda., a Sao Paulo firm controlled by Elebra Eletronica, part of the Docas Group. It will get $900,000 to develop four units of an electronic device known as a telecommand decoder, which receives messages from Earth and transmits the commands to the other equipment on board the satellite.

Omar Gattas, a director of Elebra Sistemas de Defesa Ltda., says that the company is very interested in the Brazilian space program. "We won the competition to produce four pieces of equipment for the CBERS mission that are worth $3.1 million, but the contracts have not been signed yet owing to lack of funds," he said.

Five other companies had already received orders associated with the INPE data collection satellite. Aeroeletronica, of Porto Alegre, received $100,000 to produce a prototype of the electric power controller on board the satellite in August 1992. Digicon, also from Rio Grande do Sul State, has been given $260,000 to deliver the solar panels in

January 1992. Industrias Nucleares Brasileiras won $160,000 to make the cases for the on-board equipment by next September. Copesp [Special Projects Coordinating Board], a foundation associated with IPEN [Institute for Nuclear and Energy Research], has $140,000 to machine the satellite rockets, to be done by this October. Finally, Composite, of Sao Jose dos Campos, will get $2.6 million to deliver the metal structure, made of composite materials, by June of 1993.

Shortage of Materials and Know-How

The Brazilian space program has ambitious objectives but suffers from a shortage of funds and technology. Under the MECB, a Brazilian rocket was to be used to launch a Brazilian satellite two years ago.

The satellite developed by INPE was ready on time, but the launcher designed by the CTA never got off the drawing board.

That is why the Brazilian Commission for Space Activities (COBAE) solicited international bids to determine who would supply the launch vehicle. The results will be announced shortly.

There are two types of satellites under the MECB: the first two are to be used to retransmit environmental data that is collected on the ground by automated platforms distributed all over Brazil. The last two will perform remote optical sensing of Brazilian territory. Brazil signed a commitment with China to build and launch two remote sensing satellites that will weigh 1.4 tons each. These satellites are supposed to be launched in 1993 and 1995, using the Chinese rocket known as "Long March," but the federal government has released only one tenth of the $20 million scheduled to be made available this year.

* CMN Export-Incentive Measures Detailed

91SM0400B Sao Paulo GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 27 Jun 91 p 1, 22

[Article by Brasilia correspondent Maria Clara R.M. do Prado]

[Text] The National Monetary Council (CMN) yesterday approved two important measures for financing exports: exporters may seek financing from other countries by issuing their own bonds; and, on the domestic market, they will be able to issue debentures having a maturity date of at least three years and featuring an exchange rate variation clause.

"We are approving a mechanism known as 'securitization' of exports, already used in other countries, that enables an exporter to use his export flow as collateral in order to obtain financing at a much lower cost," said Arminio Fraga Neto, director of the Central Bank's international department.

Exporters will be allowed to issue any kind of paper—floating rate notes and others—having terms of at least a year.

The paper will be backed by the performance of the exports and, furthermore, exporters may maintain bank accounts outside Brazil so that they can deposit the installments on the payments called for under the funding arrangement.

Exchange debentures will be allowed to circulate only on the internal market. Ary Oswaldo Mattos Filho, president of the Securities Commission (CVM) expects they will be well received. "This is an exchange rate hedge that, at the same time, gives the exporter peace of mind to proceed with his company's investment plans," he said. He suggested that the greatest interest in the paper will come from manufacturers of machinery and equipment.

Other measures approved yesterday by the CMN:

- Interest rates—The validity of the rule under which the creditors will be paid only 30 percent of interest on the public sector extern[illegible] was extended to 30 September. It [illegible]ed to expire on 30 June.
- Conversion--Brazilian banks that are external creditors will be able to participate in the privatization program by converting the deposit facility agreement (DFA) deposited with the Central Bank. Because of an error, those foreign creditors had been left out of the plan to exchange DFA for shares in state corporations.
- Orange juice—The export tax on orange juice has been cut from 3.51 percent to zero. The additional 1 percent that was levied on the export of that product to the U.S. market was also eliminated.
- Petrobras—The "re-lending" operation was extended for 30 days. This is an internal arrangement to re-lend external debt funds deposited with the Central Bank—in the amount of $600 million—contracted last year by Petrobras to deal with the burden that the increase in petroleum prices put on its cash flow.
- Privatization certificates—Insurance companies and capitalization companies in which the federal, state, or municipal governments hold at least 95 percent of the share capital, directly or indirectly, were exempted from the requirement to purchase privatization certificates (CP).
- Housing cooperatives—THE CMN decided that the Central Bank has no duty to authorize or monitor the functioning of housing cooperatives. "These cooperatives are not subject to any regulations at all and can be established freely. It is enough that the Federal Savings Bank (CEF), which usually finances these operations, monitors their activities," explained the Central Bank's director of rules, Gustavo Loyola.
- CEF/Branch—An application was approved for the opening of a Federal Savings Bank branch in Palmas, Tocantins State. The decision is actually a reversal of the position taken earlier by the Central Bank, which

had denied the CEF application because the institution showed a surplus in its fixed assets. The CMN felt that the branch could be authorized in this case, as a special exception, because of the location.

- Financial aid—Another vote also passed, adapting the rules for granting financing of liquidity to the recent measure handed down in a Central Bank circular under which financial institutions can use 20 percent (no longer only 10 percent) of their reserves without being subject to fines, provided they maintain an average level of 100 percent of the reserves during the period.
- Foreign debt/consolidation—The rules already handed down by the government to permit remittance of payments abroad to private creditor banks outside the bounds of the Resolution 1,564 exchange control scheme have now been consolidated. One example is the freeing of payments of interest and principal by private sector borrowers, as well as by financial institutions in general, and by two state corporations, Petrobras and Vale do R.o Doce Company (CVRD).
- Red Line—A decision that had already passed "ad referendum" was ratified by the Council. It waives the requirement to establish quotas on the 32.8 billion cruzeiros of credits to the public sector that are to be used to finance the first phase of the Red Line subway system that will provide service to the northern part of the city of Rio de Janeiro. The governor of Rio de Janeiro state is to obtain 18.3 billion cruzeiros from the National Bank for Economic and Social Development and 14.5 billion cruzeiros from Banco do Brasil.
- Docks—Also exempted from the allocation of credit requirement, on an exceptional basis, was the transfer of leasing agreements signed by Portobras (now under liquidation) to the Docks Company.

* Industrial Production Rises in Eight Regions

91SM0400C Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 27 Jun 91 p 23

[Text] In April, industrial production in eight of the ten regions surveyed by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) showed the best results, compared with the previous month, since IBGE began making these surveys in 1981. Pernambuco (down 16.8 percent) and Minas Gerais (plus 4 percent) were the exceptions. The best performance was recorded by Bahia (a 40.7 percent rise), followed by Parana (19.4 percent) and Sao Paulo (17.2 percent). Rio increased by 7.3 percent. The overall figure, released early in the month, was 13.4 percent. The main reason for the growth in output lies in the need for industry and business to rebuild their inventories after the cooling-off experienced in the first quarter of the year.

The results were even better when compared to April of last year—understandable, since that was the month when the entire country came to a standstill because of Collor Plan I. The rates of change from last year were on the plus side in all regions surveyed: from Bahia's 17.1 percent in Bahia to Sao Paulo's 49.9 percent. Rio's increase was 23 percent. And except for transportation equipment, which fell by 16.8 percent, all sectors of Rio de Janeiro State's industry boosted their production. For example, non-metallic ores rose by 95.7 percent and medicines by 90.3 percent.

Sao Paulo Figures for May

Sao Paulo industrial production was 11.9 percent higher this May than in May of last year. The rise between May 1990 and April 1991 had been only 0.5 percent, according to the Activity Level Indicator (INA) announced yesterday by FIESP [Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries]. In the opinion of Feres Abujamra, director of FIESP, the index reflects the market's continued recovery.

Although pointing out that the resumption of activity has occurred as "bubbles,"—both acceleration and deceleration occurring within short periods—Abujamra does not think there will be another drop in production.

On the basis of FIESP indicators, Abujamra expressed certainty that growth will continue until the end of July. FIESP observed an increase of 0.46 percent in employment during the first two weeks of June. Real sales rose by 2.8 percent in May, compared with the same month of 1990. In relation to April of this year, however, there was a decline of 2.1 percent. According to Abujamra, installment sales are already being made that provide for the first payment to be made with [by then unblocked] cruzados novos in September.

FIESP expects relative stability, although the number of hours worked has fallen by 8.3 percent in relation to May 1990, and by 3.4 percent from April 1991. Although industrial output has been recovering in recent months, the current INA is 8.9 percent below its May 1989 level.

Chile

Correa To Apply Law to Striking Health Workers

PY2707024891 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 26 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Enrique Correa, minister secretary general of government, announced in Santiago today that the government will apply the law to health workers who, he said, have called an illegal strike. He made these remarks, while releasing a report on a cabinet meeting chaired by President Aylwin. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Does this mean health workers will be dismissed?

[Correa] We are going to act as we did in the past in dealing with illegal strikes.

[Reporter] Does this mean that the government will press charges in court....

[Correa, interrupting] We are going to act as we did before in the face of illegal strikes.

[Reporter] Do you not mind taking this type of position against workers?

[Correa] We are going to act as we did before in dealing with illegal strikes because, just as we are accountable to health workers, we are also accountable to the nation, to the laws, and to public order.

[Reporter] Minister, is the government completely satisfied with the health minister's actions?

[Correa] Yes, and I want to make this quite clear. Today the cabinet conveyed its support to the health minister and will continue to do so throughout this conflict. [end recording]

On this subject, Correa said talks with health workers will be suspended until the strike is lifted. [passage omitted]

PCCh Reaffirms Commitment to Marxism-Leninism

PY2707170291 Santiago Radio Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 27 Jul 91

[Text] The Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] has reaffirmed that Marxism-Leninism is the party's doctrinal and ideological basis.

The PCCh announced that in no way could it follow the example of the Soviet Union if the Soviet Union's political system evolves into social-democratic ideas in accordance with Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal.

These remarks were made by PCCh Politburo member Manuel Cantero, who noted that the party is in no way discussing the possibility of abandoning Marxism-Leninism as a method to interpret reality and contribute to the establishment of a new society.

Cantero, however, made it clear that the PCCh has not thoroughly examined the new situation in the Soviet Union, however, it is carefully monitoring events there.

Cantero noted that Gorbachev's proposals are under discussion, adding that the Soviet Communist Party will have to make a decision on those proposals.

As far as we are concerned, Cantero said, the PCCh reaffirms that Marxism-Leninism is the party's doctrinal and ideological basis.

Cantero pointed out: The Chilean reality is different. They have applied and made an entire revolution. Through the years, they have made extremely serious mistakes. Their reality is different. We have always assessed our current political reality and projected it into the future, taking into account the Chilean situation.

Cantero insisted: The Soviet reality does not affect us, but, of course, we must take into account their conclusions. The Soviet Union was the birthplace of the socialist revolution. Nevertheless, this is not the only socialist experience in the world.

Army Denies Harassing Woman in Espionage Case

PY2807200091 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] Through a secret note submitted to the Appellate Court of Santiago, the Army denied harassing the female companion of an alleged former Army intelligence agent, who reported the existence of political espionage.

This is how the Army responded to a request by the Appellate Court after a request for court protection made on behalf of Margarita Navarro Navarro, who is the female companion of Marco Antonio de la Fuente Lopez, better known as the Army intelligence agent Max. According to the accusation made by Navarro to a morning daily, the Army Intelligence Directorate, Dine, was carrying out espionage against the Coalition of Parties for Democracy. After the report, Max disappeared and Margarita Navarro, through a request for court protection, charged that she was the subject of what she called harassment and surveillance by unidentified individuals, including a Dine agent named Charlie.

The charge was denied by Army Chief of Staff Major General Rodrigo Sanchez Casillas through the secret note submitted to the president of the Appellate Court of Santiago. The note says:

Dine personnel did not go to the house of the petitioners; they also did not participate in the events mentioned in the request for protection, and there is nothing on the record related to the court action.

All that is needed now is a response from the Interior and Defense Ministries to a similar request made by the Appellate Court of Santiago.

Paraguay

SAFC To Hold Talks With Civilian Groups

PY2907234091 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 29 Jul 91 pp 8, 9

[Text] Vice Admiral Eduardo Gonzalez Petit told the press this morning that the intention of the Special Armed Forces Commission [SAFC] is not to exercise some sort of tutelage over national dialogue but to promote a "civilian-military dialogue." He revealed that the commission is also discussing updating the Military Organization and National Defense Law.

After a meeting with Chief of State General Andres Rodriguez in Lopez Palace, Navy Commander Gonzalez Petit, who heads the SAFC, elaborated on the initiative's purpose. He said: "I want to make it clear that this is not a national dialogue; it is just a civilian-military dialogue. President Rodriguez created a commission to conduct that dialogue."

Vice Admiral Gonzalez Petit asserted that these types of meetings are important for exchanging viewpoints on various topics. He said: "Since we [the military], of course, always magnify the good things we do and other people dramatize the bad things we do, this is the time to talk, hear suggestions, and thrash them out. This is the purpose and nothing else. There is no intention of grabbing the reins of national dialogue, which would imply a political activity. The objective is to conduct a civilian-military dialogue."

Gonzalez Petit said the commission has initiated its task, and noted that "the same commission is charged with another task, which is updating the Armed Forces Organization Law." After commenting on the fact that some meetings already have been held with some politicians, he said another goal was restructuring Law 832 (on defense and security). He also noted that the purpose was not "to multiply objectives" (a military term), but, on the contrary, to reduce them.

The SAFC coordinator affirmed that talks will be held to hear criticisms from the social and political sectors so that Law 832 can be improved.

"We will be talking on this subject with all the people who want to talk with us. We have already talked with the Defense Committees of both congressional houses," said Gonzalez Petit.

Asked about the SAFC activities timetable, Gonzalez Petit answered that he has not established one yet and that things are at the stage of "seeing who we are going to talk with and hearing those who want to talk with us." He said the working plan would be prepared this afternoon.

Asked if the commission will talk with church leaders, for instance, Gonzalez Petit answered affirmatively: "Of course, the church is an important institution in Paraguayan society."

Finally, he summed it up by saying: "We only aim at a civilian-military integration and at reviewing the Armed Forces Organization Law, seeking to reduce, not multiply, 'objectives.'"

Dialogue Seen as Favorable

PY3007012091 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 29 Jul 91 p 9

[Interview with Juan Manuel Benitez Florentin, president of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party, PLRA; place and date not given]

[Text] PLRA [Authentic Radical Liberal Party] President Juan Manuel Benitez Florentin has said that his party is totally open to the Armed Forces' initiative to establish a dialogue, which he labeled as "very positive."

[Benitez] It is very important given that the transition involves several problems pertaining to different sectors. The military sector's influence in Latin America is very remarkable, especially in our country, where the transition began with a military coup, whose authors promised to carry out this process. Evidently, we need an understanding, a dialogue between civilians and the Armed Forces.

[ULTIMA HORA] Do you think this initiative is meant to transfer the share of power that some sectors claim is still held by the Armed Forces to civilians?

[Benitez] I would say that the issue is not to see which sector will prevail over the other, but to define the role that corresponds to each sector. It would not be a competition for power, but a dialogue to determine such roles.

[ULTIMA HORA] Vice Admiral Gonzalez Petit said that one of the points of interest is the legislation regarding the military. Do you think this is convenient right now, or do you think that it represents intervention in a governmen. branch, like legislative power?

[Benitez] No government branch would be violated. If this subject is discussed, it would be the same as if we talked with different economic and social sectors about the legislation that affects their fields. The Armed Forces have a great importance, and, without doubt, it will be useful for the military and civilians to express their own views regarding the transition. A transition may be very difficult if it is not carried out by civilians and the military together. We must avoid carrying out a transition against the military.

[ULTIMA HORA] As for the Armed Forces' great importance, do you think they represent tutelage in the transition process?

[Benitez] I think that through this dialogue, we must try to establish such tutelage. If we did not establish this dialogue, we civilians could draft a transition project and carry it out but with the possibility of suffering a de facto interruption.

Government Signs Pact With USSR Delegation

PY2907163891 Asuncion NOTICIAS in Spanish 29 Jul 91 p 4

[Text] A firm commitment to promote, through their respective Congresses, the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Paraguay is one of the points mentioned in a joint declaration signed yesterday by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies Foreign Relations Commissions and a USSR parliamentary delegation.

Paraguay and the Soviet Union also commit themselves to cooperate to enhance economic, commercial, social, and cultural ties, especially in the field of science and education, and to promote tourism between the two countries. To this end, commercial air routes between the USSR and Paraguay will be established.

The visit of the Soviet parliamentary delegation concluded with the signing of this declaration. The delegation arrived in our country on 24 July, seeking to promote relations between the two nations.

The Supreme Soviet delegation came at the invitation of the Chamber of Deputies. During their meetings, both sides expressed their hope that the visit of this first official Soviet delegation will mark the beginning of parliamentary exchanges, the restoration of bilateral relations, and the establishment of many ties that will benefit the USSR and Paraguay.

According to the declaration, information was exchanged on the activities of the two congresses and general aspects of the international situation were analyzed. The conclusion was reached that there are similarities on key issues like international peace and security.

The two sides agree on the neutralization of the nuclear threat, disarmament, on the political solution to regional problems, the protection of the environment, the struggle against international terrorism and the illegal drug trade, and on the defense of and respect for human rights.

The two sides consider it necessary to form a Paraguayan-Soviet coordinating committee to develop relations between the two congresses. They agreed on the need to approve an official visit by a Paraguayan congressional delegation to the USSR. Boris Oleynik, the head of the Soviet delegation, and his Paraguayan counterparts described the meeting as fruitful. They said that they hope relations will advance for the benefit of the two nations.

New Democratic Colorado Youth Front Launched

PY2707124891 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 25 Jul 91 p 7

[Summary] A new youth front has been formed under the name Democratic Colorado Youth [Juventudes Democraticas Coloradas]. It was officially launched on 23 July. Some of its members are Hugo Yubi, Carlos Maria Santacruz, and Oscar Campuzano Fleitas. This front upholds the renewal of the Colorado Party Executive Board members, because it cannot be governed by the same men who governed during the former regime.

Youths Protest Against Stroessner's Relatives

PY2707125891 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 24 Jul 91 p 8

[Text] A group of nearly 100 followers of the "Roberto L. Petit" Colorado Party Youth Front staged another demonstration yesterday in front of the residence, where relatives of deposed dictator Alfredo Stroessner are allegedly staying. The rally lasted 40 minutes. A dozen uniformed policemen guarded the residence, which is located near Kubitschek and Mariscal Lopez Avenues, during the demonstration.

Several speakers gave brief speeches repudiating the presence of Stroessner's close relatives and recalling the cases of corruption during his government.

Party Congress Ends; Secretary General Reelected

PY2907172091 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 29 Jul 91 p 2

[Text] The 4th Paraguayan Communist Party [PCP] Congress, which began on 26 July, ended yesterday. The sponsors describe as unprecedented the large number of participants and the interest demonstrated by those attending the congress toward the issues discussed during the important meeting.

The election of the PCP Central Committee officials represented yesterday's main activity. The congress reelected Ananias Maidana as PCP secretary general.

The congress defined the idea of forming a national front for the upcoming National Constituent Convention. The participants unanimously agreed that the PCP must "make a great effort to form a politico-social alliance and thus form a broad front with all those who want a democratic constitution that will reflect the basic interests of the peasants, workers, and all those social sectors that currently suffer from the government's neoliberal policy."

The PCP secretary general said that talks with other social sectors are well advanced. He mentioned talks with the Asuncion For All Movement and the National Peasant Federation, with which the PCP could form a front for the Constituent Convention.

Venezuela

Mandela Leaves Caracas, Travels to Mexico

PA2907170891 Paris AFP in Spanish 1306 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] Caracas, Jul 29 (AFP)—The South African leader Nelson Mandela ended his visit to Venezuela today and traveled to Mexico, the fourth leg of his first tour to Latin America and the Caribbean.

Mandela and his wife Winnie traveled to Mexico on a commercial flight after staying almost 48 hours in Venezuela, where they were decorated by President Carlos Andres Perez.

The leader stated in Caracas that the International Olympic Committee should not lift sanctions on South Africa, and he strongly criticized President Frederik de Klerk's government, stating that "it talks about peace, while it makes war on us."

He also warned that the African National Congress (ANC), which he heads, could go back to an armed struggle if they do not reach an agreement with the government to eradicate racial segregation in his country.

"The Olympic Committee should establish other conditions before South Africa is readmitted. These conditions should include the stipulation of no racial discrimination in sports, and South Africa is very far from this," Mandela stressed.

Mandela and his wife arrived in Venezuela from Cuba on 27 July. After visiting Mexico, they will travel to Brazil, on the last leg of their trip to the region that started on 24 July with a visit to Jamaica.

"We have never rejected the armed struggle. We clearly said we would suspend it because we believed advances would be made," said Mandela, who is 73 years old. "However, we clearly warned that we would not have any other choice but to return to the armed struggle if the government did not respond."

The leader expressed his appreciation for Venezuela's support to the struggle against racial discrimination at a ceremony held on 28 July in the city of Valencia, 200 km west of Caracas, to give him the honorary doctorate degree he had been awarded by Carabobo University, while he was still in prison.

At the ceremony, President Perez said that Venezuela would ask the United Nations to maintain the sanctions against South Africa "until the people's rights are reinstated in that country." Mandela said he was very touched with the degree conferred on him.

The ANC leader is touring Latin America and the Caribbean to gain support for international sanctions to be maintained against South Africa until apartheid is totally eliminated.

Mandela asserted that "apartheid is alive and as destructive as ever," and explained that the black majority in South Africa continue to be deprived of many rights, despite the fact that many segregation laws have been abolished in the past months.

In his words to Venezuelan students, Mandela observed that during his 27 years in prison he learned that the youth of the world supported the struggle against apartheid and that "such a struggle cannot fail." He added that "Venezuela has been a strong base of support in the struggle against apartheid."

Carabobo University awarded Mandela the honorary doctorate degree, while he was still in prison, in June 1988. ANC representative Ben Magubane received the award on his behalf at that time.